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Thursday March 14 1996

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Pakistan P 70
Poland PL 7.00
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Spain S 20
Sweden SK 10
Switzerland SF 3
Thailand TH 10
Turkey TL 100.000
Ukraine US 2.00
USA US 2.75
Zimbabwe Z 7.00

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

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Gunman mows down class of children leaving 16 dead with their teacher

Massacre of the infants



'I heard a short burst of gunfire. It sounded like a sledgehammer. All I saw was a figure in the gym. I saw someone firing then he turned round and fired at us through the window. He was wearing ear muffs'

— Steven Hopper, 11, of Dunblane Primary



Teacher Gwen Mayor and Class P1 of Dunblane Primary School near Stirling, who were in the gymnasium when gunman Thomas Hamilton (above left), a former Scout leader, entered and started shooting

Erlend Clouston and Sarah Bosley

THE small Scottish town of Dunblane was wracked with grief and horror last night as details emerged of the killer who had lived in their midst until yesterday, when he shot dead 16 small children and a teacher in three minutes of carnage in a primary school gym.

Last night three of the 12 children at hospital in Stirling, Falkirk and Glasgow were on the critical list. As the Queen, the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition registered their shock and distress at the worst multiple murder this country has seen, there were immediate calls for greater security in schools and tightening of the laws on gun ownership, last addressed after the Hungerford massacre in August 1987.

No obvious motive had emerged yesterday, but the many people who had encountered Hamilton drew a picture of a man who was obsessed with small boys and embittered by rejection. He became a Scout leader in 1973, aged 20, but was asked to leave the following year because of complaints about his behaviour at camp. He tried

many times to get back in the organisation. Later he ran a boys club — at one time in the school gym, some say — and recently, said a neighbour, he had been turned down as a voluntary worker for the primary school where he yesterday wreaked such bloody havoc. Details of Hamilton's gruesome rampages were vague last night, partly because the chief witnesses were dead, wounded or too young and traumatised. It is believed the gunman began firing his weapons in the playground not long after school began, then forced his way past two of the 25 staff as he walked along a passageway, past the dining room, and into the gym, where 45-year-old Gwen Mayor's class was in progress.

Fifteen children and Mrs Mayor died at the scene; another child died in hospital. It is not known how many bullets were discharged during the massacre, which the police estimate lasted between two and three minutes. Only one child escaped unscathed. A further two pupils were absent because of illness. The whole school heard gunfire. The headteacher, Ronald Taylor, was described by police as a hero for the work he put in to calm the distraught pupils of the 700-strong school. He is believed to have been the first on the scene and to have called the emergency services at around 9.30am. Jack Beattie, a senior consultant paediatrician, who arrived with the medical team, said it was the worst carnage he had witnessed in his 19 years as a doctor.

"We were coming towards me, so I just dived under my desk when he turned and fired at us. The firing was very fast, like someone hitting a hammer quickly. Then there was a few seconds of a pause and he started again. "It was pretty scary when he started firing at our classroom window because all the glass smashed in and I got hit by a piece." As the news reached the town, parents began to congregate at the school gates. Their children were handed back to them in small groups, but the parents of the small victims were led to a private room. Nora Dougherty, governor at the school, said: "I found out it was not my daughters. I felt relieved — and then I felt terribly guilty that I felt relieved." A father outside the school gates cried: "I don't know if my girls are alive or dead. What kind of a maniac does

this? They are just babies in there." Janet Aitken, mother of an 11-year-old pupil, said: "I have my son, but many don't. When I saw Campbell I just wanted to weep, but many parents aren't having a reunion with their children." Michael Forsyth, the Scottish Secretary, flew to Scotland as soon as the news broke. "I cannot find the words to express what has happened here today," he said after being taken to the scene. He was joined by the shadow Scottish secretary, George Robertson, who lives in Dunblane. Mr Robertson, whose children attend the Dunblane primary, described the murders as "an act of unspeakable brutality and woe". In a message to Mr Forsyth, the Queen said she was "deeply shocked by the appalling news from Dunblane". She said: "In asking you to

pass my deepest and most heartfelt sympathy to the families of all those who were killed or injured, and to the injured themselves, I am sure I share in the grief and horror of the whole country." John Major said: "They are perhaps the generation that has more to look forward to in optimism and hope than any before and suddenly this appalling act snuffs out that opportunity." Police in Scotland will open a fatal accident inquiry, a formality for any unnatural death. They refused to say whether Mr Hamilton's pistols were automatic, but confirmed that the gunman had held the appropriate firearms certificate.

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'Weird' man interested in guns and boys

Killer fiercely defended right to run clubs against community disquiet

Peter Hetherington and Duncan Campbell

THE man who walked into a school gymnasium and shot dead 16 children had two main interests: boys and guns. For most of his adult life, he had run — or attempted to run — clubs for young boys. Whenever he was crossed in his attempts to run his clubs he fought back fiercely, appealing to everyone from the Queen to the ombudsman. Most recently he was crossed when turned down by the school in his application to be a voluntary worker. Thomas Watt Hamilton was born in May 1952. His mother

died some years ago and his father Jimmy, now in his eighties, lives in sheltered housing in Stirling. A neighbour said the son had forced his father out of the flat so he could have it for himself. He was barely 20 when he became a Scout leader in Stirling in July 1973 but his stay was short-lived: he was asked to leave in March the following year after complaints about his behaviour at a Scout camp. He made frequent attempts to be allowed to re-enter the organisation, the last in 1988, but was rebuffed on every occasion. He wrote to the Queen to complain about his treatment, his last letter being sent last Friday, in which he

again attacked the Scouts Association for having damaged his reputation. It is understood that twice in recent years, in 1983 and 1984, police approached the Association requesting information about him. Because he had been thrown out of the Scouts, Hamilton founded his own organisation, the Stirling Rovers, in the early 1980s. But he soon aroused the suspicions of the authorities. When he attempted to hire a school hall in Stirling in 1984 his requests were turned down by the Central Regional Council. His appeal to the ombudsman was granted on a technicality. Only recently he distributed a duplicated letter to parents in Dunblane denying that he had been molesting boys. To neighbours in the yellow

pebble-dash council flats of Kent Road, Stirling, he was known invariably dressed in white shirt and anorak with flat cap covering a receding hairline, a cross between Donald Pleasence and Doctor Spock, according to one. The unmarried Hamilton, who once ran a DIY shop in central Stirling and later became a professional photographer, would take parties of children aged from eight to 12 to his two-bedroomed ground-floor flat, while he would dash inside for photographic or other equipment, on the way to another club trip. Neighbours Grace Ogilvie and Kathleen Kerr, who live respectively in the same small block of flats and directly opposite, said colour photographs of scantily clad boys on trips to Loch Lomond or other beauty spots were on the walls of every room. Al-

though the police would not confirm that Hamilton was known to them, several neighbours spoke of a police raid on Kent Road within the last two years. Grace Ogilvie, who has lived on the estate since 1980, described him as: "A queer chap, looked like something from Star Ship or something, you know, Doctor Spock. And a very private person. He didn't say very much." Two or three years ago Hamilton beckoned her inside and showed her a "home movie" lasting for 45 minutes showing groups of boys parading over a gang-plank or something "in swimming trunks." "He said it was his boys being trained. I thought it was all very peculiar." Kathleen Kerr remembers Hamilton as polite and quietly spoken. He had told

A funny noise, a pause, then it started again

Edward Pilkington, Erlend Clouston Owen Bowcott, Vivek Chaudhary report

HE WAS wearing ear muffs. That's what the 11-year-old boy noticed as the man walked towards him. He also noticed a funny noise coming out of the piece of metal he was holding, like someone hitting a hammer very quickly. There was a second pause, and then the hammering would start again.

Steven Hopper was in a converted but that was doubling up as a classroom when he saw the man coming out of the gymnasium close by. The boy, frightened by the noise, dived under his desk. "I looked over and saw the gunman. He seemed to come out of the gymnasium and was just firing at something. It was pretty scary when he started firing at our classroom window because all the glass smashed in and I got hit by a piece." In other classrooms of Dunblane primary school the children also heard the funny noise. They were scared, and huddled together in the corner of

the room with their teachers, instinctively protective, keeping guard over them. The headmaster, Ron Taylor, was the first to sound the alarm. He heard that hammering noise coming from the gymnasium and ran to the assembly hall. The sight that greeted him was utterly horrific. Of the 29 members of Primary One class that had gathered for an exercise class in the hall that morning 16 were lying dead or dying. A further 12 were injured. The class teacher, Gwen Mayor, was dead. And so was the man who had wrought this unimaginable carnage upon the school, a 43-year-old former Scout leader, Thomas Hamilton. Hamilton was a loner who had been suspected of improper conduct with children when he was a Scouts leader many years ago. He was a familiar, if solitary, figure around the area. Tall, balding and with glasses, he always wore a white shirt and blue anorak, often with the hood up. No one knows why he left his two-bedroom house in the Braeshead district of Stirling yesterday and headed for Dunblane primary school. He was turned to page 2, column 3

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2 DUNBLANE MASSACRE

The Guardian Thursday March 14 1996



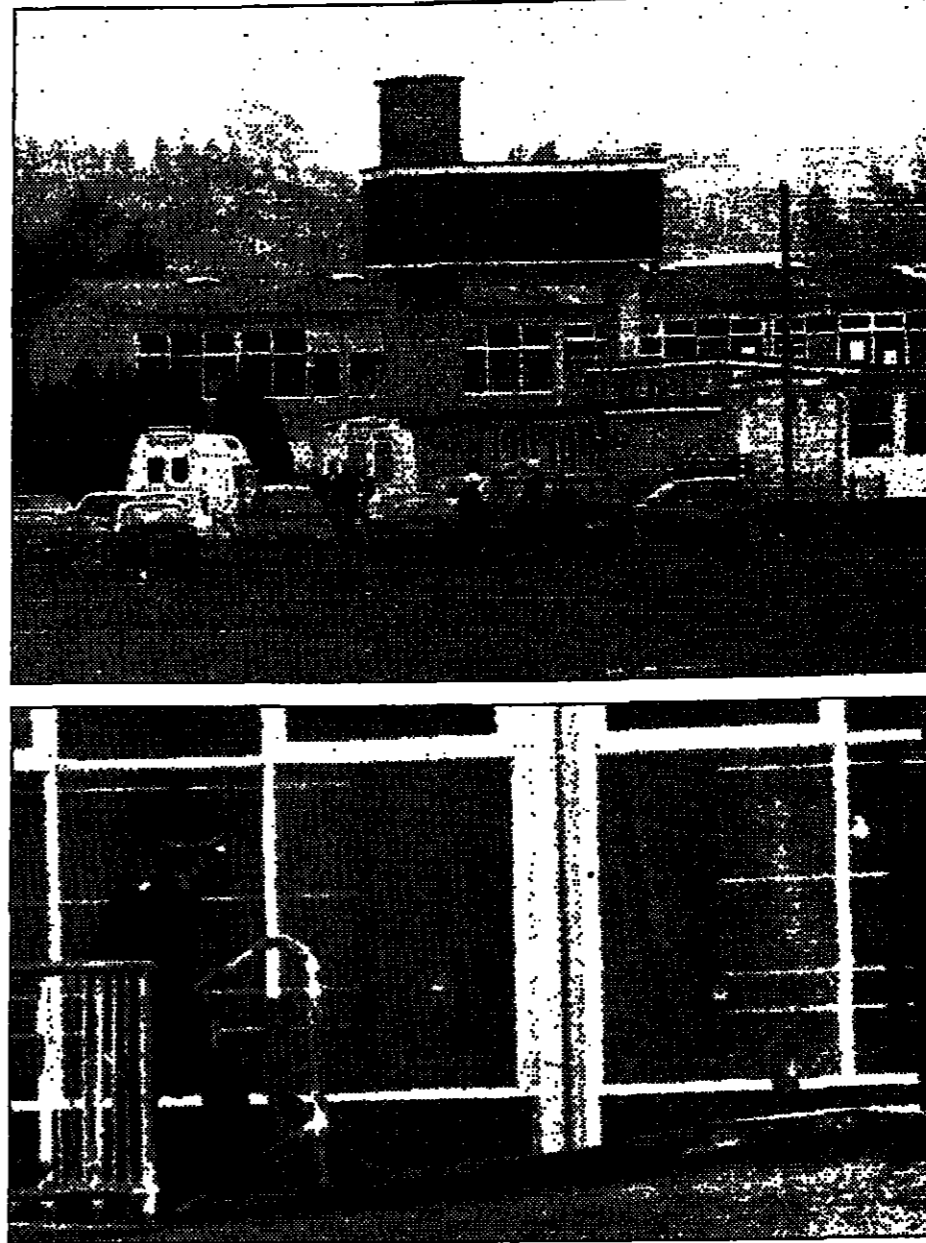
Hamilton's flat in Stirling, where photos of scantily clad boys were on the walls of every room PHOTOGRAPH: CHRIS BACON

'Stewart got hit in the leg so he just hid. It's lucky the man turned the gun on himself before he got the rest of the kids'

—Robert Weir, father of Stewart Weir

'After the bangs police arrived. I saw stretchers. Teacher told us to try and calm down, but some of the children were crying'

—Jamie Christie aged 10



Ambulances outside the school, and police inspecting bullet holes in the window of the gym

They heard sirens. Slowly the

A woman was pacing up and down, crying 'Victoria! Victoria!'

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 mary school. Hamilton knew the layout of the school in Dome Road: he had used the gym for his own youth club. Some time just before 9.30 am he walked through the main entrance, through the dining room, turned right and head straight for the assembly hall.
 Had he come minutes earlier he would have found the hall packed with children. By 9.30 there was just Primary One. They were the youngest boys and girls in the school, aged between four and six, doing their morning routine with 45-year-old Mrs Mayor, remembered yesterday by a former pupil as "a brilliant teacher, very kind and caring."
 By the time he reached the door of the hall he had been spotted by at least two teachers. They became his first casualties. "It would be fair to say that those who saw him in the corri-

dor knew exactly what his intentions were," said Superintendent Louis Munn of Strathclyde Police later. "They were given no chance to try and prevent him."
 The exact details of the minutes that followed may never be known. The two adults involved — Hamilton and Mrs Mayor — are both dead. The only surviving witnesses are five- and six-year-old children, many too injured or traumatised to talk. All that is known is that Hamilton, a keen member of a local gun club, used four hand guns in the massacre. It took barely three minutes for him to shoot more than 30 people — and then himself.
OUTSIDE the school gates, the quiet village was gearing itself up for just another Wednesday. Perched on the edge of the Gramplains, Dunblane is a popular stop for visitors, attracted by

the tranquillity of its 13th century Gothic cathedral and square. Through it runs the Allan Water, whose timid splashing, on a normal day, provides the only immediate distraction from the total hush of a weekday.
 A casual visitor, surveying the patchwork greenery woven together by dry stone walls, might be deceived by its rural decorative charm. In fact, it is a commuter's dream — minutes from Stirling and as far from Glasgow as it is from Edinburgh. It is a place people escape to for a quiet life and a good Sunday walk. "It's a very quiet area," said one resident yesterday. "Normally there's absolute horror even if couple of houses get broken down."
 On this bitterly cold early spring day most commuters from the town's 7,300 population had already set off for work, many dropping their children off at school

along the way. Gangs of workmen were widening the bridge that spans the Allan Water, close by the school's main entrance. The local post office manager, Norman Roger, closed the shop, taping a notice to the door explaining that it was because of "the tragic incident."
RESIDENTS without children knew something was seriously wrong when the number of ambulances blaring past rose rapidly to a dozen or more. Soon there was a helicopter ambulance whirring overhead. "I didn't have a clue what was going on," said one woman who was passing the school at the time. "Then they started bringing children out of the school. Some were covered in blood. God bless all those little children."
 Violet Goodwin, who lives yards from the school entrance, saw two police of-

ficers running across a grassy bank. "Then there was just chaos with what seemed like hundreds of police cars swarming around the school, ambulances and a helicopter overhead."
 Radio began to spread the terrible ripple of news through the community. Jean Raye, the former headteacher of Dunblane primary, was driving in her car listening to a local station. For 20 years she had been in charge of the school, until she retired three years ago.
 A news flash came up. A shooting incident had occurred in Dunblane and several children were feared dead. Mrs Raye stopped the car and sought refuge in a friend's house she was shaking so much. "It's a very happy school," she said later. "I just kept thinking of all the parents whose children were at the school and who would not

turn to page 3, column 1

A darkness falls on the disbelieving town

Andrew O'Hagan on how a world that most thought was somewhere else came home to the people of Dunblane

My niece Claire is a toddler. She came on the phone yesterday morning, full of her everyday huffs and hilarities. She wanted chocolate, there was snow in Glasgow, and her sister Shannon had just woken up in her cot.
 She spoke brilliantly about these things, and I admired how much her talk had come along in no time at all. They grow up so quickly I thought, putting down the phone, hearing it ring, picking it up again, and hearing something about other children, something as bad as any piece of news I've ever heard. I ended the day in Dunblane,

where sadness and fear at the murder of local children had everybody stunned, and where everybody wondered at a world gone out of its mind.
 As darkness came about last night, people in Dunblane were still welded to the spot in disbelief. There is a certain kind of disbelief, as there is of anguish, which quite refuses the fixity and simplicity of speech. You could feel this last night. Sixteen children dead, killed by some unknowable crazy, some Thomas from Stirling, breaking in and ending their lives as they danced around their school gym.
 It is as if the word outrage was invented with the sole

purpose of describing this act.
 At the end of the day — a day that had begun, here as elsewhere, with the onward movement of children — there were tears at Dunblane Cross, as local firemen attached a flag on top of the borough hall, and carefully arranged it at half mast. (There was a bright motto painted along the side of the engine: "Protecting the heart of Scotland.") There was another one from the same series, tacked to a board outside the cathedral: "School's Out," it read. "After-school care for Scotland's children." People could hardly bear to look at these signs, little noticed or thought about before, which appeared now like taunts.
 Panic had taken hold earlier, as the news spread, and mothers came running through the town, desperate for news of their own. They were taken back to

their houses, many of them to bungalows on the surrounding hills, while the town centre filled with reporters. Most of the shopkeepers went home too. A message had been pinned to the door of Harding's newsagent in Stirling Street. "As a result of the tragic incident which has occurred in Dunblane today," it said, "we have closed early as a mark of respect. Normal opening hours will resume tomorrow."
 People here imagined the world of violence was a world elsewhere; it was on video, it was in New York or Africa, in London and Glasgow and Edinburgh perhaps. It was miles away, in other worlds and very little of it, they used to say, could be found in Dunblane.
 But anyone who saw the face of Dunblane's mothers yesterday — eyes fixed in a glare of pure fear — will never again doubt the presence of violence in the

live — good houses, wide gardens, a bit of paving, a berth for the car — and you see a little local pride inscribed into the look of the place, typified by the line of houses of friends, but the feeling was of a place that would enjoy no rest tonight, a community, indeed, that would never forget this horrible interruption of their restful lives. A man came walking with a dog. "Why did it happen?" he murmured to no one. "Why did it happen?"

Killer doted on guns and boys

continued from page 1
 her he "initiated" boys' groups at Bannockburn near Stirling, Tullcoutry close by, and at Dunblane, where he used the school hall for camping weekends.
 Even on his trips, he aroused suspicions. A former warden of a Loch Lomond campsite said he had barred Hamilton from his site after police questioned him about his behaviour. John Robertson, a retired employee of the Camping and Caravanning Club, said detectives arrived at the Millarochy campsite five years ago after a complaint from the parents of one of the boys.
 "The police turned up to question him at least twice," Mr Robertson said. "They also spoke to the boys he had in his charge. When the CID came on the site they were quite angry with him. They were gunning for him. I got the impression that they knew him of old... He was also a very touchy, tactile person and was forever putting his arm around the boys. I could never understand why parents put their kids in his charge."
 Hamilton was seen washing the minibus outside the flat, almost daily, before groups of men of varying ages arrived.
 Stirling regional councillor Erena Davidson, who lives in Dunblane, said parents had expressed growing concern about Hamilton's activities.
 "What he did latterly was to make the boys strip to their waist and change into striped underpants and then he would take photographs of them before they embarked on their sports activities," she said.
 "One mother said her son was frightened just to see him, but he would never tell her why he was so frightened. He refused to speak about it."
 Mrs Davidson said Hamilton used to take boys on adventure trips to an island in Loch Lomond. "One lady whose son went on one of the

trips said that she gave her son a stamped addressed envelope so he could write home, but he was not allowed to send the letter."
 The council and the police were aware of the disruption surrounding Hamilton's activities, "but we couldn't prove anything and there was nothing we could do. It was dreadful when I heard his name being mentioned this morning."
 She added that when Hamilton was in dispute with the council over an attempt to reduce the number of hours he worked with the children, he called at the homes of many councillors in an attempt to gather support.
 "I remember it well because it was Hogmanay — New Year's Eve — and I couldn't believe that anyone would call round at that time."
 Freelance photographer Sandy Leathley told how Hamilton once offered to show him two handguns and live ammunition, but he declined the offer. "He seemed to me to be very proud that he had the guns."
 Mr Leathley, of Stirling, said Hamilton employed him as a photographer for six weeks about two years ago, to work for a photographic firm in Stirling. The work included taking portraits and photographs of youngsters engaged in sports at three boys clubs run by Hamilton at local schools.
 "A local journalist said: 'Over the years he had approached us to get publicity for his boys clubs, but we were not happy to do that. Our gut feeling was that we were not happy with the situation. He made your flesh crawl. He was always rubbing his hands and walked with a stoop.'
 Robert Ure, another neighbour, said he moved to Kent Road about four years ago. "The first thing you heard from people here was that the guy was weird."

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Respected teacher who died doing the job she loved

Angella Johnson
GWEN Mayor was an "experienced and highly regarded" teacher who shared her musical and arts skills as well as her enjoyment of sports with pupils.
 Anne Wallace, the civic leader of Stirling-based Central Region council, spoke highly of the teacher whose family were last night struggling to come to terms with her murder.
 At their home in the nearby town of Bridge of Allan, Mrs Mayor's husband, Rodney, was comforting the couple's two student daughters, Esther, aged 21, and Deborah, aged 20. It is understood they were too upset to meet a minister who visited the house.
 Mrs Mayor, aged 46, had been teaching at the school since October 1988 and ac-

ording to colleagues was well-liked. She went to school in Lancashire before qualifying from Nottingham College of Education in 1971. She worked in a number of primary schools and then took a career break to bring up her children in 1974.
 But her love for children drew her back into the educational fold and in August 1980 she started teaching again. Initially in learning support and then as a nursery class teacher at Borestone primary school, Central Region.
 Children injured in the shooting included two boys who are critical but stable at Stirling Royal Infirmary; and one girl and two boys in a similar condition at Yorkhill Specialist Children's Hospital, Glasgow. Seven others and two teachers also needed hospital treatment, including surgery.

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'I found out it was not my daughters. I felt relieved — and then I felt terribly guilty that I felt relieved'

— Nora Dougherty school governor

'I have my son, but many don't. When I saw him I just wanted to weep. Many are not having a reunion with their children'

— Janet Aitken mother



A shocked child is led away from Dumblane Primary School yesterday. Older children in nearby classrooms had dived under desks as the shooting started PHOTOGRAPH: MURDO MACLEOD

'They started bringing children out the school. Some were covered in blood. God bless all those little children'

— Unnamed witness.

'I just thought he was rather queer. He sort of crept along the hedge. He just seemed to walk at the one pace'

— Grace Ogilvie neighbour, on killer

terrible ripple of news spread

continued from page 2
know whether it was their child who had been killed." Back at the primary school in Domes Road those parents had begun to arrive, drawn by the earliest whistlers and confused rumours and anxious to dispel fears for their children. A woman was seen outside a hotel close to the school pacing up and down, screaming "Victoria! Victoria!" Other parents were in tears, pleading with police officers to know their children's fate. "I could hear mothers crying and screaming as they walked along Domes Road," said a resident. "It was a horrific scene — there was total pandemonium." As the crowd grew, police began taking parents in groups of 10 into the school offices to check their names against a list of those children known to have been injured or died. It must have been the longest and the most tortuous walk of

their lives. The look of relief on the faces of most parents spoke for itself. But their joy was dampened by the chilling sight of some parents being led gently into a separate room to be told their child was on the list. "I have my son, but many don't," a mother said. George Robertson, the shadow Scottish secretary and Labour MP for Hamilton, who lives in the same street in Dumblane as the school, saw many of the distraught relatives inside the school. It was, he said later, a sight that would live with him for the rest of his life. A COUPLE of hours after the shooting, young children dressed in the school's uniform of red sweatshirts and black trousers or skirts, began to be led away in tears by their parents. A girl sucked her thumb for comfort as her mother held her. Many of the children

still gripped jotters and school bags. The stream of tiny faces were desperately scanned by clusters of waiting adults. "My son Gordon is in there," said a man who had been working in casualty at the Royal Infirmary in Stirling when he heard the news. He was balancing a tearful red-haired girl on his arm. A sobbing father heard the news and phoned the police but they were unable to help. "We came to the school but they won't let us in. I don't know if my girls are alive or dead. What kind of a maniac does this? They are just babies in there." Round him parents and grandparents, aunts and uncles, hugged one another in silent embraces. For long periods the only noise was the sound of tiny wellington boots splashing through puddles. The lucky children were happy to tell their stories, and as they did so the first glimpses of the havoc that

had occurred inside the walls of Dumblane primary school began to emerge. "Half of us were crying and sitting with hankies, and half were cuddling each other," said Katherine McKwan, aged 11, from Primary Six. "Miss Ross was trying to keep us calm." Some escaped only through chance. Mohammed Zahid's daughter, Suma, had been due to attend yesterday's gymnasium class. Unknown to her father, she had fallen ill and Mrs Zahid had kept her at home. But Suma's sister, Huma Zahid, aged 10, was at the school yesterday morning. As she emerged through the gates, Huma choked out her recollections. "I heard eight gunshots, so everybody got nervous and they ran. Then the police came and everything got noisy and I was scared. Even-though we went into the window to see what was happening."

BY NOW a full medical emergency routine involving 50 ambulances and paramedics was in operation. The first "sketchy details" of the shooting reached the Scottish ambulance service at 9.38 am. Four ambulances were scrambled from Stirling, reaching Dumblane in about 10 minutes. A team of seven doctors led by Dr Jack Beattie, a senior paediatric consultant from Stirling Royal Infirmary, drove to the school to give emergency medical treatment at the scene. Dr Beattie found the wounded children being comforted by teachers. He was very quiet by the gates. "They were in shock both because of the injuries and because of the psychological shock. "We were there as professionals needed to treat injuries and help the children. We went into auto-pilot and got on with the job," said Dr Beattie, aged 43, with

three children of his own. "We all went to individual children and decided who had immediate priority for the first wave of evacuation. Some children had several wounds. I have no idea of the types of bullets that were used. The local family doctors from Dumblane who had come to the school were already giving help. Most of the children were provided with emergency fluid replacement and oxygen." Last night it was announced that the school will remain closed until Monday. But as night fell the enormity and pure horror of an incident which brought every parent's nightmare into terrifying reality began to sink in. The clutter of emergency vehicles and parents' cars outside the school gates began to clear. The village was very quiet as it was every Wednesday night. But this silence was different.

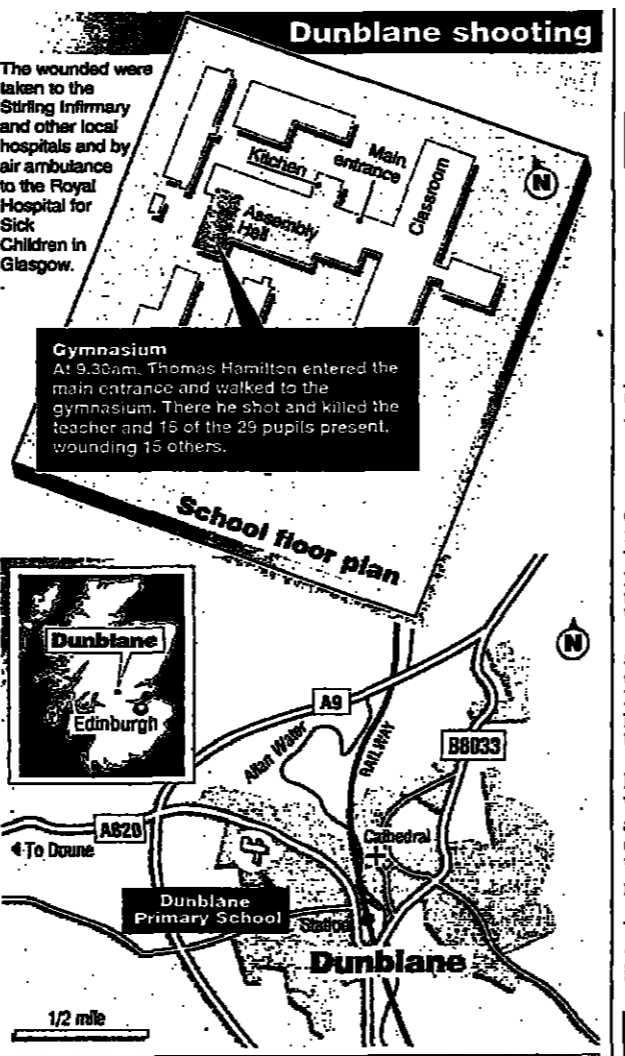
It took barely three minutes to shoot more than 30 people — and then himself

'Everyone who came in from the hospital was crying'

The medics

Counselling offered to staff after trauma of 999 response

Owen Rowcott
NEWS of the Dumblane shooting reached the Scottish ambulance service at 9.38am yesterday when police at the scene made a 999 call. Four ambulances were immediately dispatched to the town, reaching the scene in around 10 minutes. "The first crews who arrived were obviously traumatised by what they saw," an ambulance spokeswoman said yesterday. They immediately called for extra help. As soon as news of the massacre reached Stirling Royal Infirmary a team of seven doctors, supported by nurses and paramedics and led by Dr Jack Beattie, a paediatric consultant, drove to the school to give emergency medical treatment at the scene. A total of 16 ambulances ferried casualties from Dumblane to Stirling Royal Infirmary, five miles to the south. A mobile communications centre was sent to the town to co-ordinate the operation. The Scottish ambulance service has six aircraft at its disposal. Paramedics at the scene called one helicopter to pick up a critically ill girl. She was flown to the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre in Glasgow, from



where a medical team took her to the nearby Yorkhill children's hospital in the city. Last night her condition was still said to be critical. Around 50 ambulances and paramedics were involved in the operation, which delivered the first casualties to the Stirling Royal Infirmary shortly before 10.30am. "Many of our paramedics and ambulance drivers came in to work on their day off," said the ambulance spokeswoman, "and local doctors came in to the school from the surrounding area. "The injuries the ambulance men saw in the school gym were extremely traumatic and we will be offering counselling to those of the staff who need it. "As well as the shock of the scene they had to cope with the distraught parents arriving at the school. "Thirteen children and three adults were taken to Stirling Royal Infirmary. One child died shortly after admission, and seven others underwent emergency surgery. Mohammed Nakhaei, who runs a flower shop in the hospital, said: "There were streams of ambulances and police cars with their sirens going, and they kept coming every five minutes. Everyone who came in here from the hospital was crying." A policeman posted outside the hospital's accident and emergency unit said: "Everyone is totally shocked. All the early shift from the police station have been kept on for the afternoon and they have drafted in extra officers from other forces to support us." Many off-duty hospital staff went to the infirmary as soon as they heard the news, offer-

ing their help. For many in the first hours of the emergency there was the fear that hospital staff might know victims. "Some of the staff were visibly very shaken," Stephen Houston, a spokesman for the hospital, said. "I have heard that the school where they had children was at the centre of the incident." All day surgeons and operating-theatre staff carried out emergency procedures. The hospital has nine operating theatres. The accident-and-emergency unit was closed for much of the day to allow staff to concentrate on the emergency.

Guns and access top of agenda

Politics

Shocked MPs pull back from knee-jerk response

Patrick Wintour
CALLS for tougher gun laws and stricter school security are likely to dominate the political agenda in the wake of the Dumblane tragedy. But most politicians yesterday, openly displaying their grief and shock, held back from knee-jerk responses. It is understood that the shadow Scottish secretary George Robertson asked Labour MPs not to make any political remarks about the tragedy yesterday. George Foulkes, MP for Don Valley said yesterday was a day for grieving, but added: "Once it has settled down, questions will have to be asked about whether there needs to be a change in the

gun laws. How was he able to get hold of weapons with such catastrophic effect?" The Labour MP for Darlington, Alan Milburn, last year called for new curbs on gun licences in the wake of the fatal shooting by a gun fanatic of his 15-year-old step-daughter. Police revealed that the man had won a court case against them to keep his weapons two years earlier. Scottish Labour MPs, some of whom had met the murderer, described him as "a well-known local weirdo" who was in frequent correspondence with the authorities. Privately questions were being asked how such a man had free access to a gun club when questions had been raised over his character by the council banning him from holding a licence to run youth clubs. But MPs were also calling for tighter restrictions on access to schools, as the cross-party moral majority wing at Westminster urged tighter rules on TV violence. Mr Robertson, for 20 years a resident of Dumblane with three children educated at the school, and the Scottish Secretary, Malcolm Forsyth, the constituency MP, flew to the



George Foulkes: 'Questions must be asked'

the school. It is an act of unspeakable brutality. It is very hard to come to terms with. I am bound to know many of the casualties." John Major, in Egypt for a one day anti-terrorism conference said: "This is a sickening and evil act that almost passes belief. Those children were in school. They had nothing to do with anything. They were aware they should have been safe." The Labour leader Tony Blair said: "These are little children who at the weekend would have been playing with their brothers and sisters and mothers and fathers. They went to school today with the whole of their lives in front of them — now, nothing." Archie Kirkwood, Lib Dem MP for Berwick and Berwickshire, said: "Violating the sanctity of a primary one classroom really heightens the horror of this event and prompts the question: is there really nowhere that is sacrosanct?" Scottish National Party leader Alex Salmond expressed the sympathy of his party to the bereaved "in an incident which defies belief and description".

Film company delays video release of Natural Born Killers

The screen

Campaigners reignite debate about impact of TV violence

Patrick Wintour and Madeleine Bunting
WARNER Brothers yesterday deferred the video release of Oliver Stone's controversial film Natural Born Killers, in which a couple go on a two-week random killing spree. The killings yesterday at

Dumblane have rekindled the debate about the impact of violence seen on television and at the cinema and are certain to unleash a torrent of self-searching about moral and social breakdown. The decision to hold back the film by Warner Brothers Videos, conveyed yesterday to David Alton, the Liberal Democrat MP who has led the campaign to prevent its release, will strengthen the hand of campaigners who urge control over violent videos. Michael Hepp, managing director of Warner Brothers, told Mr Alton by phone from California that it would not be appropriate to release the film at this stage in the light of the Dumblane massacre. More than 80 MPs, includ-

ing former ministers, had planned to table an Early Day Motion condemning the video release — due on March 22 — after it was given a certificate by the British Board of Film Classification. A furious Mr Alton said: "If this film is not appropriate to be released as a video because of this horrific incident, it is not appropriate to be shown at any time. All the evidence shows that these videos lead to a culture of violence and we need to stop it." Mary Whitehouse, former chairwoman of the National Viewers and Listeners' Association, said yesterday that the use of violence as entertainment desensitised people. "There have always been lonely, bitter individuals. The difference now is

that they are particularly vulnerable to the images of violence as entertainment which is an approved and accepted part of our society." But David Selbourne, a writer on civil ethics, argued that the killings were a ghastly illustration of social breakdown in which individuals could become totally estranged from their fellow human beings. "Out of estrangement comes a sense of individual entitlement without moral restraint to impose your own ego on others," he said. "We have become habituated to... a gush of blood from an innocent body on the screen. If you gaze on these things in isolation... with no bonds of family or friends, you come to think this is a human norm."

4 DUNBLANE MASSACRE



A weeping schoolgirl is consoled by two friends as they walk away from Dunblane primary school. PHOTOGRAPH: IAN WALDE

'I was deeply shocked... I am sure I share in the grief and horror of the whole country.'

— The Queen

'They are perhaps the generation that has more to look forward to than any before and suddenly this appalling act snuffs out that opportunity'

— John Major

'They went to school today with the whole of their lives in front of them — now, nothing'

— Tony Blair



The scene outside the school after yesterday's massacre. PHOTOGRAPH: MURDO MALLESC

Security hopes shattered

Prevention Bars and bolts no protection against extreme violence

John Carvel Education Editor

MINISTERS are expected to introduce tougher measures to protect pupils against intruders soon but they were under no illusion last night that school perimeters could be strengthened enough to prevent entry by a determined gunman.

for the end of the month. Officials briefed Mrs Shephard on Dunblane last night but she is not expected to make policy pronouncements before the final report. Recommendations are likely to include changes in school design to restrict access to a single point which can more easily be supervised, including doors opened by combination number codes, where appropriate. Better staff training and more widespread installation of closed-circuit television to provide night-time security may also be proposed. In an interim report this month the working party of teacher union leaders and local authority representatives recommended that it should become unlawful to carry knives or other offensive weapons in schools and the police should have extra powers to search for them.



Philip Lawrence: Stabbing prompted inquiry

Introduce measures which will not be justified. We have to strike a balance. We want schools to be the centre of the community and to attract parents in," said Robin Squire, the schools minister.

teaching union, said the incident at Dunblane was far more horrific than anything their repeated calls for a security review. "Restricting the number of entrances is a particularly obvious point," but if a school had several entrances to several buildings, access was difficult to control. In spite of the enormity of the tragedy, there was an ugly spat between the two largest English teaching unions about how the Government should respond. Nigel de Gruchy, general secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers, said the incident heightened the need for schools to take security seriously. "No school is safe. It's not just the inner city schools that are at risk. Unfortunately, the publicity arising from incidents of this kind makes schools easy targets for such matters," he said.

frightening parents to get free publicity. "I am appalled at the line he took. It is irresponsible to suggest our schools are not safe. To make such a suggestion in the face of all the evidence and is simply a cheap means of gaining publicity. It is unprofessional and against the interests of pupils, parents and teachers. Mr de Gruchy replied: "Mr McAvoy has totally misinterpreted what I said. My message was that no school can afford to treat itself as safe, and everybody has to take security far more seriously, because it could happen anywhere. Earlier Mr McAvoy qualified a call for improved school security with advice that the incident should be kept in perspective. "This is so exceptional that to use it as an example of what people might expect to happen is to exaggerate it," he said.

1990 and reinforced by an investigation into the murder of Nikki Conroy at a Middlesbrough school in 1994. George Varvava, president of the National Association of Head Teachers, said improved security could provide only limited protection. "The person who killed these children did not need to gain entry to the school to do what he did. He might have opened fire into the playground through the school railings. "Tragically, as society has devolved responsibility for children on to schools, they have become focal points for the community — and for the unstable elements within it. Educational psychologists said parents' confidence in schools as places of security second only to the home would be irrevocably shaken after the shooting. Extra bars and bolts may increase the physical safety of schoolchildren, but the loss of psychological security may take longer to repair, Margaret McAllister, an educational psychologist based near Edinburgh, said.

Fantasies turn to awful reality

The killers Studies suggest frustration and failure motivate mass murderers

Chris Millill Medical Correspondent

CARNAGE of the sort seen yesterday at Dunblane is often planned for weeks, with the killer making preparations as though going on a military mission, forensic psychologists said yesterday. Such killers were unlikely to be mentally ill. In some cases the act was seen as a final attempt to win fame and recognition after a lifetime of low achievement and rejection. Gerard Bailes, of the Norwich clinical forensic unit in Norwich, said that the prime question of "why" was almost impossible to answer. "It's put down to mental illness, but studies of multiple murderers and serial killers have shown they are not mentally ill in the strict sense of being a schizophrenic or manic depressive. "Where you look in terms of background it is at things like isolation, a lower, possible desire for revenge, desire for status, a desire to be famous, or if not that then infamous, a desire to be a soldier or a commando who idolises guns. "Sometimes there is a direct link where the person has been an ex-pupil, with a sense of frustration or failure, but it is not clear what brings this together so they will go and do something like this. Mr Bailes added: "I would be very surprised if the individual hadn't had thoughts, fantasies, images in their

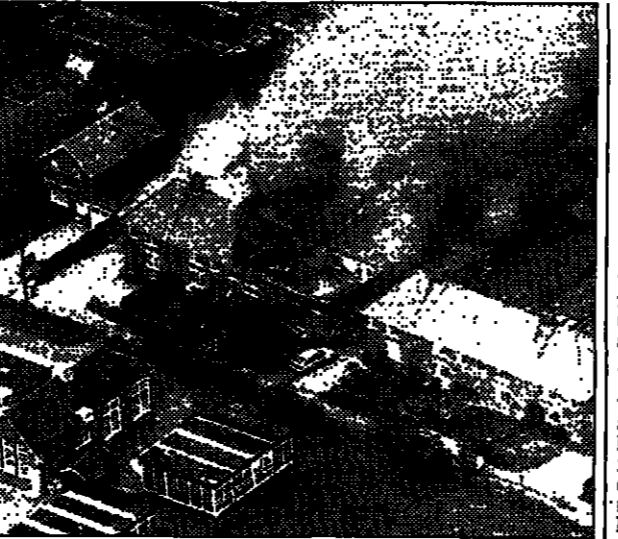
head — this sort of thing brewing. It is very difficult to pick up such signs in advance, but there was often a sense of preparation in the preceding days or weeks. "They might visit a gun range more often or stockpile ammunition. It's as though they are preparing for a mission. This is it — this is the final thing, the status they have sought, they have achieved their purpose as they see it — so they kill themselves. Dr Clive Meux, a senior lecturer at the Institute of Psychiatry, London, and a consultant at Broadmoor Hospital, said previous studies had divided mass killers into classifications including " spree killers" and "pseudo-commandos" but the true reasons for their acts remained elusive. "Why is the most important question, and the most difficult to answer." Dr Meux explained: "Some individuals are psychotic, but many are not mentally ill in the true sense of the word." He added: "They obviously have major problems communicating their feelings and are likely to have all sorts of anger and aggression. Instead of shouting at someone they do something awful to another group of people. "Sometimes people have over-controlled personalities, so that they hold everything in and then it explodes." Ian Stephen, a freelance forensic psychologist who advises the TV series Cracker, said the facts emerging about the gunman matched the profile of a lonely, vengeful man trying to prove his importance. "He sounds very much the 'omnipotent' type feeling people were not giving him the attention he needs. In writing to the Queen he is saying, 'I'm important — I'll teach you to pay no attention to me and to mock me'. There's a desire to prove his own status." He added that the sexual element was quite unusual in such cases.

Dunblane joins roll of carnage

Slaughters Sixteen deaths at Hungerford head catalogue of other killings

Gary Young, Alex Duvall Smith in Paris and Mark Tran in New York

YESTERDAY'S tragedy in Dunblane is the latest in a long and bloody line of indiscriminate slaughters in Britain and abroad. August 1987: Michael Ryan gunned down 16 people, including his mother, and injured 11 with a semi-automatic Armatite rifle in the Berkshire market town in 1987. He killed himself after being cornered in a comprehensive school. June 1994: A former pupil launched a flame-thrower attack on children taking A-level exams at a school in Holywood, County Down, which left three horrifically scarred and burnt several others. Graham Bell, aged 46, an unemployed electronics expert and amateur stuntman, said he had a grudge against the school for giving him inadequate career advice. March 1994: A masked man burst into a comprehensive school classroom in Middlesbrough, forced children to kneel down, and then stabbed 12-year-old Nikki Conroy to death. Two other girls were injured, one stabbed 15 times. Stephen Wilkinson, aged 30, blamed the attack on his alter ego. He was sent to a secure hospital. The judge ordered him never to be released. May 1993: A man with explosives strapped to his body



A house ablaze during Michael Ryan's rampage through Hungerford in 1987. PHOTOGRAPH: COLIN SHEPHERD



Hall Garth School, Middlesbrough, where Nikki Conroy was stabbed to death in 1994. PHOTOGRAPH: CARL RUTHERFORD

held hostage four teachers and 20 three- and four-year-old pupils at a nursery school in Neuilly on the outskirts of Paris. Eric Schmit, who had demanded 100 million francs (£13.3 million), was shot dead by police after a 32-hour siege.

None of the children or teachers were killed. July 1989: A French farmer shot and killed 14 people including members of his family in the village of Luixtil, close to the Swiss border. He was captured by police.

- United States January 1989: Patrick Purdy, a disturbed welder, fired more than 100 rounds from his AK-47 into the playground of his former school in Stockton, California, killing five children and wounding six and nine, and wounding 30. All were refugees from South-east Asia. He then killed himself. December 1993: A gunman walked through the aisle of a handgun and a bag with hundreds of bullets walked into a law firm in San Francisco and opened fire, killing nine people. He then shot himself. July 1993: A man carrying two semi-automatic weapons, a handgun and a bag with hundreds of bullets walked into a law firm in San Francisco and opened fire, killing nine people. He then shot himself. December 1987: Former US Air Force sergeant Gene Simmons killed 14 of his relatives on Christmas Day in Russellville, Arkansas. Sweden June 1995: A 24-year-old army shooting instructor killed seven people, including five women, in the central town of Falun, after a dispute with a woman in a restaurant. New Zealand November 1990: A gun-wielding lover killed 11 men, women and children in the tiny seaside village of Aramoana in a rampage lasting 24 hours. He was killed by anti-terrorist police. South Africa November 1989: Former policeman Barend Strydom, a right-wing extremist, killed seven blacks in the centre of Pretoria. He was sentenced to death in 1989, but released in 1992 as part of a general amnesty. Canada December 1989: Marc LePine, a 25-year-old war movie fan, shot dead 14 young women at the University of Montreal, then killed himself. "You're all a bunch of feminists," he yelled as he opened fire.

First, dreadful lesson that the grieving must learn

Counselling No way exists for righting a horrific wrong, say doctors

Martin Wainwright

"DON'T think you ever cope with it," says Peter Conroy, the devastated father of 12-year-old Nikki Conroy, who was killed in Middlesbrough in the nation with horror two years ago. "It doesn't get any easier. The pain changes context but it never goes." His tearful reaction to the horror of Dunblane underlines the dreadful lesson which counsellors and doctors have gently started bringing to the traumatised town. Every normal and ingenious way of making sense of the world will have been shattered for the children and families, as thoroughly as the torn bodies of the victims. Doctors shrink from the dreadful prognosis of offering naught for our comfort, but they do not try to pretend that life for the bereaved and the small, uncomprehending witnesses will feel safe and comfortable for years, or ever. Aberfan still has villagers who will not talk about the wall of slurry which took 116 children, almost a whole generation, when it swept down through the school in 1966. Parents of young victims of the Herald of Free Enterprise tragedy at Zebruggen, nine years ago, continue to long for the opportunity they never had to say goodbye. The fundamental cruelty for survivors, and especially young children, is wanting the impossible: to set the terrible wrong to rights. Simon O'Loughlin, one of a team of small, uncomprehending witnesses in 12 pupils from Hagley High School in Warwickshire died in a crash on the M40, found this the hardest essential first point to make. "All of us have a tremendous need to remedy what has gone so disastrously wrong," he says. "2 1/2 years on from the tragedy. "But that cannot be done. We can only encourage the slow and painful process of gradually restoring some sense of equilibrium, even though in some cases that can never completely happen." The second individual Calvary for the bereaved is to recognise that "normal life" must be tried for routines restored even when the strongest impulse is not to let their child go to Dunblane primary again. Anne Gold, whose joint book on school trauma with Bill Yule, consultant child psychologist at London's Maudsley hospital, was sent to every school two years ago, puts her emphasis on this. "We cannot deny what has

happened, but what does it say to young children if the school does not get back to normal? Life does go on and that is the message from normal school: there is life. We are here," she says. "Staff and everyone helping will be very careful and watch each child closely. There will be nightmares and awful fear and shock. But although this will be frightening, it is quite natural. It is probably what the body has to go through, as we try to get back to normality again." Mrs Gold adds: "In any disaster, post-traumatic stress affects some people and not others, according to individual circumstances." Mr O'Loughlin, consultant psychologist at Kiddermister general hospital, found that communal activities, centred on the crash victims but in a positive way, were a form of therapy. Anne Gold believes in "children working together, perhaps on a memorial to their friends who have died. That would be painful but healing. It would say: we remember you, and carry on." The parents at Hagley, like the families of the four sixth-formers killed in the Lyme Bay canoeing disaster three years ago, also found relief in campaigning to prevent future tragedies: pressing for seatbelts in school minibuses and much stricter regulation of adventure holiday centres. Carolyn Langley, whose daughter Claire was one of those drowned, recalled the "sense of achieving something" after a meeting with the then Education Secretary, John Patten. Dunblane does not appear to have this option, apart from despairing cries for more locks and more mistrust. Their children's killer is also beyond vengeance. Peter Conroy says: "The fact that he is dead is going to perhaps cause problems for the families. They will never know why he did this." He and his family know in gruesome detail about the workings of the deranged mind of Nikki's killer, Stephen Wilkinson, after sitting through a long week of psychiatric evidence in Leeds crown court. But the experience leaves him adding the rider: "It may be a blessing for the children left in the class, knowing that he will not turn up again. In our case [with Wilkinson] young and alive in secure psychiatric care] that isn't necessarily true." Mr Conroy's conclusion is also bleak: "Sadly today, you can't guarantee that if your son and daughter go to school, they will come home again." It is echoed by Anne Gold, and the title of the book she wrote with Prof Yule: Wise Before the Event. The 40,000 copies distributed by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation take the hard-headed and uncomfortable line: disasters in schools will happen. You must be prepared.





Dunblane... the town of 7,000 people is popular as a commuter base for Glasgow, Edinburgh or Stirling

Police urged Howard to act on swelling arsenal

Amnesty sought as gun numbers grew

Gun control

3 million arms are circulating, many without registration

Duncan Campbell

SENIOR police officers wrote to the Home Secretary last year recommending a guns amnesty because of concern over the growing number of weapons in circulation. More than 800,000 firearm certificates are issued annually but it is estimated that there may be as many as 3 million firearms in circulation.

Fatalities from shootings account for about 10 per cent of homicides. The latest annual figures, for 1994, show there were 66 killings with firearms, a figure that has remained fairly stable throughout the nineties: there

were 74 homicides by shooting in 1993 and 55 in 1991.

There were 12,977 offences involving firearms in 1994 and 2,203 non-fatal injuries.

There were 140,200 firearms certificates issued in 1994, a 1 per cent increase on the previous year, and 670,000 shotgun certificates issued.

The rules for the granting of firearms certificates were laid down in the 1968 Firearms Act and the 1988 Firearms (Amendments) Act, which was passed after the Hungerford killings. This prohibits people who have been jailed for more than three years from having a certificate. People who have been jailed for between three months and three years are entitled to apply for a certificate after a wait of five years.

Certificates are issued by the police although there are moves to privatise this duty or pass it to another agency.

People applying for a licence must satisfy the authorities that they have a good reason, that they can be trusted with weapons and that the public safety will not be threatened. Applicants

have to undertake to keep the weapons in a safe.

It is generally accepted that Britain's restrictions on ownership are among the strictest in the world. Laws introduced in 1920 were tightened after the shooting of three police officers in Shepherd's Bush, west London, in 1966. But many weapons have not been registered.

A spokesman for the Association of Chief Police Officers said yesterday that a guns amnesty has been under "active discussion" since last year. Administratively and legislatively, such an amnesty is more complex than the recent knives amnesty. However, an amnesty after the Hungerford massacre brought in 42,725 firearms.

John Wilson, of the National Pistol Association, said that anyone seeking to join one of the country's 2,000 shooting clubs would need the support of two other members and serve a probationary period of six months. "We are all absolutely appalled and mystified by what has happened in Dunblane," Mr Wilson said.

'Safe' haven for city parents

The town

Peaceful air of prosperity a magnet for young families

Donald MacLeod

AMONG parents who ran in tears to Dunblane primary school yesterday morning must have been many who had moved there to find good, safe schools, away from the cities.

The recent growth of the little town of 7,000 as a commuter base for Glasgow, Edinburgh or Stirling was reflected in a school which was bursting at the seams with 720 pupils, including nursery children.

The two-storey 1960s building is surrounded by temporary classrooms. A new primary school had been built but not yet opened to cope with rising numbers of young families attracted to the peaceful community on the banks of the Allan Water.

The children of George Robertson, Labour's Scottish spokesman, attended the school which takes all the town's young children, except for about 50 at St Mary's, a nearby Episcopal primary.

Many incomers, like Rob Brown who lives near the school, had moved out from Glasgow. "We were looking for a superior quality of life, including safer, better schools." His young son is not yet of school age.

As far as Central Region police were concerned Dun-

blane was, until yesterday, the scene of "nothing of any great note".

The sense of safety for young parents and retired couples was reinforced by its air of quiet prosperity, not to mention delightful countryside on the edge of the Highlands. Although Doune, three miles down the road, was at one time the pistol-making capital of the country, the town had the air of a place that had seen no violent event since the Battle of Sheriffmuir between the Jacobites and government forces in 1715.

It is an estate agent's dream. New housing has not swamped the character of the town with its narrow stone streets and fine cathedral, which gave it the right to boast of being one of the country's smallest cities. The Allan Water, crossed by a 15th century bridge and noted for its fishing, provides pleasant walks in the town for toddlers to feed the ducks.

Commuting is easy — Glasgow is 35 minutes away by fast train — and the M5 motorway runs nearby. The schools were an obvious selling point, with the secondary, Dunblane high school, enjoying a good reputation for exam results.

A new Tesco's had sprung up beside the station, a sure sign of expansion, and apart from the golf course essential to any Scots town, the local sports club has squash and floodlit tennis courts. Only 220 people were unemployed in the 1991 census figures. Nearly 80 per cent of houses are owner-occupied and conventional households of two parents plus children are by far in the majority — 902 households as opposed to 41 single-parent families.



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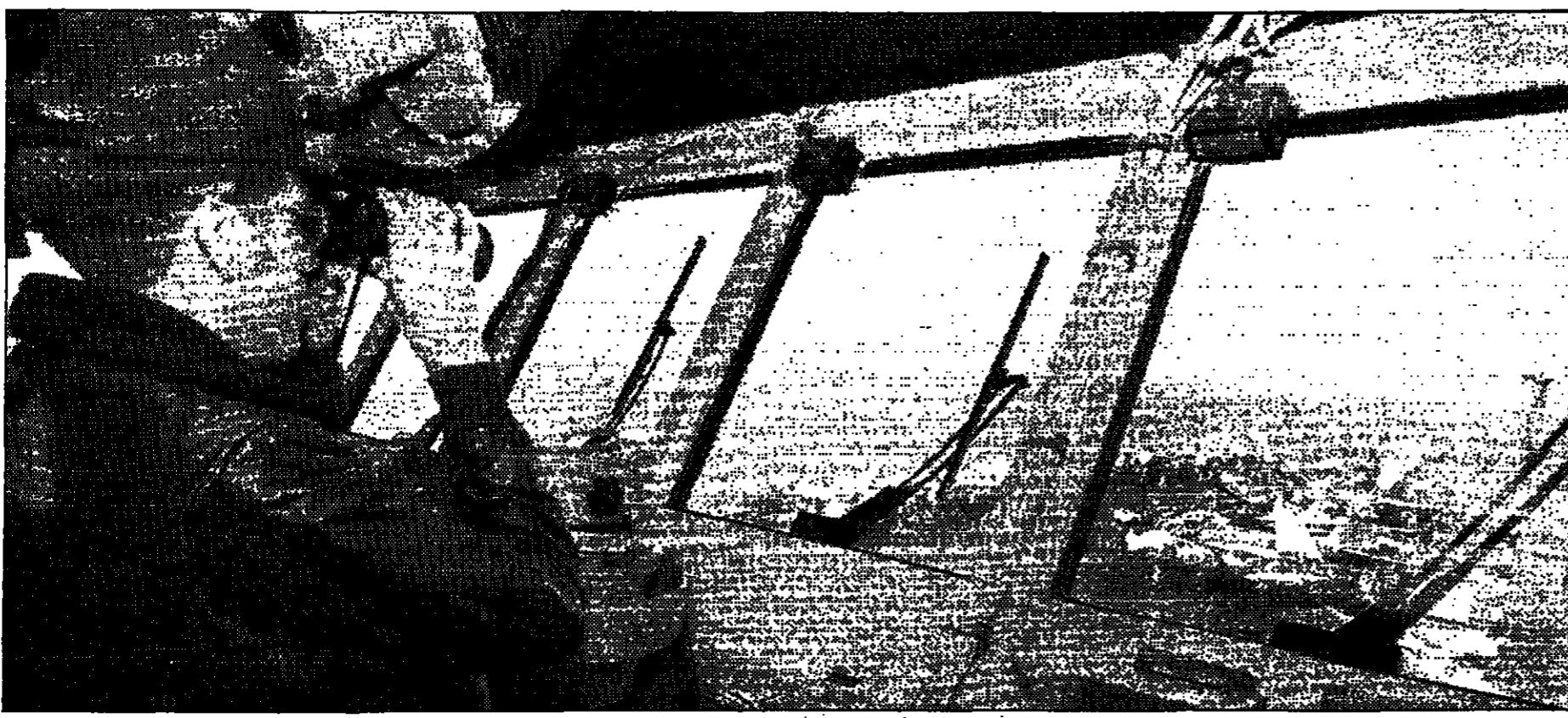
A comforting embrace as relatives and pupils gathered outside the school yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: MURDO MacLEOD

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On alert... A United States naval officer looks from the bridge of the USS Independence aircraft carrier across the tense Taiwan Strait yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: ITSUO NOYE

Invasive cloud lingers over island

A Taiwanese outcrop remains defiant about China's threats, writes Andrew Higgins on Flower Island in the Pescadores

BYOND a tin can with incense hanging above the front door, over the shoulder of his wife cleaning cauliflower on the step and past strips of red paper promising peaceful prosperity for the Lunar New Year, the head of Flower Island will have a wonderful view of any Chinese invasion.

From a living room crammed with tributes to the Buddhist goddess of mercy and mementoes recording his own modest ascent to the bottom rung of Taiwan's government structure, he looks out across the tensest stretch of sea in Asia, and probably the world.

There, just out of view but still within earshot of the 300 people left on the desolate, Taiwanese-controlled island known in Chinese as Huayu — the People's Liberation Army (PLA) yesterday held a second day of live-fire military exercises.

In the sky high overhead passed a fourth test ballistic missile on its way from the Chinese mainland across the Taiwan Strait. Due soon in the neighbourhood are two United States nuclear-powered aircraft carriers.

"About seven o'clock last night we heard this noise: *bang*," said Wang An-chih.

"Not very loud but very deep. It definitely wasn't a firework. We know what fireworks sound like around here."

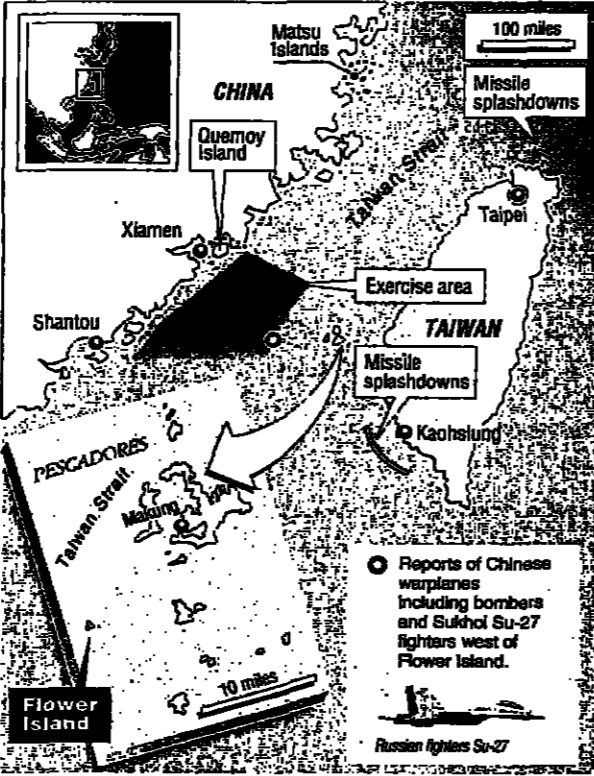
His sorry little domain of sissal, scrub and a disused lighthouse, lies closer than any other part of Taiwan to China's display of Sukhoi-27 fighters, battleships and the other wares of Asia's emerging — and increasingly belligerent — superpower.

The sound yesterday was of jets as they roared through low clouds over the Taiwan Strait. The defence ministry in Taipei reported 30 groups of Chinese warplanes in the air about 24 miles west of Mr Wang's living room.

Mr Wang spread across a table a map drawn up by the government to show fishermen which part of the strait to avoid: most of it.

"We live off fish — now we can't get near them," he complained.

Off limits until China stops flexing its muscle is a prime fishing zone, marked on the map with a zig-zag. It straddles a rectangular box into which the PLA will spend another five days dropping bombs and launching ship-borne rockets — Beijing's churchy contribution to campaigning for Taiwan's presidential election on March 23.



"If the Chinese communists come, there is not much I can do," Mr Wang said. "We have nothing special worth taking anyway. If they want to use force, that will be that. Finished. None of us has a gun. We can't resist." Local warriors — a dozen coastguards and a handful of raw conscripts on national service — patrol armed only with walkie-talkies, binoculars and gas masks.

On other, more useful and more accessible islands in

Taiwan's Pescadores archipelago, reinforced garrisons are digging in.

Taiwan's chief of staff, General Luo Yi-chi, has just visited the regional capital of Maitung to rally his forces and, according to the local newspaper, "make preparations for war".

On the islet of Huchingli (Tiger Wall) yesterday, soldiers loaded new shells from the quayside on to the back of a military truck and cruised the waterfront in an American Humvee military vehicle fitted with a machine gun.

Flower Island, almost totally flowerless, seems to be all on its own, although it did receive a brief visit by a vice-presidential candidate, looking for a hint of danger with which to burnish his campaign.

Military headquarters is a two-storey concrete house, distinguished only by a rusty metal rod flying Taiwan's single-starred flag.

A chubby coastguard stands guard at the door. He is not concerned that the PLA, as military experts fear, might move against a small island such as this. "Our higher-ups have their plans," he said. Asked what plans he has himself, he replied: "I can't talk about that."

A local shrine on a hill above the harbour, which is packed with grounded fishing boats, has been turned into an observation post. A solitary sentry peers through high-powered binoculars for any sign that the PLA might be

about to put into practice its recent training in beach bombing, amphibious landings and parachute drops.

"None of us here have any money, so war does not worry us," said Wu Lien-wu, a bearded fisherman sitting among a dozen bored villagers who had squeezed into the island's only shop to watch television. "Only those with lots of money are worried."

No wealthier, but more anxious, are the island's intellectuals — a group of bespectacled and earnest young teachers sent from Taiwan proper to teach local children.

"The communists are savages," said Sylvia Peng. "We want other countries to understand that Taiwan is different from China. We are Chinese in race but, like Singaporeans, we are independent." It is precisely such talk that China set out to silence with its escalating campaign of intimidation.

Flying in by helicopter on an island-hopping inspection tour, the region's senior official arrived in a Yankee baseball cap. "I have visited five islands today, and all are calm," said Chen Lieh.

"There is a problem, yes, but we are all brothers, so we should find a rational way out of this. Making war is the most stupid solution of all."

"We should let time and history solve it. As Mao Zedong said, it could take 100 years to get back Taiwan. They should listen more to what Mao said."

News in brief

Call to extradite genocide 'leader'

THE Rwandan foreign minister, Anastaza Gasana, left for Cameroon yesterday to seek the extradition of an arrested genocide suspect who is by far the biggest alleged ringleader of the 1994 slaughter in detention.

Mr Gasana said he would ask Cameroon's president to extradite Theoneste Bagosora, a former Rwandan army colonel who was chief of cabinet at the defence ministry during the genocide. He was arrested in Cameroon on Sunday on a Belgian arrest warrant suspected of involvement in the killing of 10 Belgian United Nations peacekeepers in Rwanda in 1994.

Mr Gasana, who had said earlier that Col Bagosora would be handed over to the UN tribunal investigating the genocide, said his government now wanted him to face justice in Rwanda.

Rwandan government officials describe Col Bagosora as one of those most wanted in connection with the genocide. Mr Gasana said the colonel played a key role in arming the Hutu extremist militia responsible for the deaths of up to a million minority Tutsis and Hutu moderates. — *Reuters, Bigail*

Nuclear stockpiles 'untraced'

FORMER Soviet republics cannot account for a large percentage of the hundreds of tons of bomb-grade uranium and plutonium once listed in their stockpiles, creating a "primary national security concern for the United States", according to a report by US government investigators.

The report says the nuclear material is an easy target for smugglers and terrorists, citing lax security procedures at many civilian and military nuclear sites in the former Soviet Union.

Investigators for the General Accounting Office said they had been able to wander into one prominent nuclear storage site in Moscow, the Kurchatov Institute, without showing identification, and that it had been guarded by a single unarmed policeman.

While there has long been concern about the smuggling of uranium and plutonium from the former Soviet Union, the report provided several new, disturbing details on the lax security systems protecting nuclear stockpiles, and on the ease with which thieves could steal and sell nuclear components. — *New York Times, Washington*

Dutch drug policy endorsed

THE Netherlands has won a rare show of support from another country for its controversial drugs policy. A letter signed by Margaret Thatcher, the health minister of the German state of Hesse, praised the liberal Dutch drugs policy and urged the Netherlands to resist foreign pressure to adopt a harder line.

The letter, dated March 5, was addressed to the Dutch health minister, with copies sent to the prime minister, justice minister and parliament.

"The state of Hesse welcomes and supports the pragmatic and humane policy of harm reduction pursued by the Netherlands in its fight against drugs, which is exemplary in Europe," wrote Ms Thatcher, a senior Green party figure whose liberal drugs policy has made her famous throughout Germany.

She said health authorities in Hesse had received valuable advice and material assistance from Dutch experts in setting up experimental programmes for drug addicts. — *Reuters, The Hague*

Aids funds misspent

TENS of millions of dollars allocated by the United States Congress for Aids research in 1994 was spent inappropriately — either on studies that have little relevance to the disease or on administrative expenses that are impossible to pin down, according to three recent reports.

A report by 100 scientists and activists, released today, says that a large proportion of the \$1.3 billion allocated by the National Institutes of Health for Aids research in 1994 was either used administratively to help keep health institutes in business, or siphoned off to cover research projects not related to Aids — in areas including cancer, heart disease, veterinary medicine and dentistry.

When Dr Richard Klausner, head of the National Cancer Institute, was asked about \$22 million in Aids funds used by the director of the Division of Cancer Treatment in 1994 for unspecified "personal services", he said he knew the money was spent on "salaries" but he could not say whose. — *Newsday*

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Jobfree exp
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It's good to talk more cheaply, page 12

Bill Gates bytes back at Netscape, page 12

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Plus: Finals from industry's front line

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Finance Guardian

Unemployment rises again

Larry Elliott
Economics Editor

GOVERNMENT attempts to rekindle a sense of consumer well-being in the run-up to the election were dealt a serious blow yesterday with the news that Britain's dole queues lengthened last month for the first time in two-and-a-half years.

stress that 1996 would be the year when the ordinary citizen will begin to feel the benefits of the recovery. But Michael Meacher, Labour's employment spokesman, said that the figures underlined how job insecurity was "now the central fact of the British economy".

per cent. CSO officials said it was too early to say whether the February figures marked a turning point for the labour market and that the underlying trend was still down by about 10,000 a month.

According to the CSO, the raw figures for unemployment showed a drop of 7,517 to 2,302,988 last month in the number of people out of work and claiming benefits. Once adjusted for seasonal factors, the total rose by 6,800 to 2,313,500 — the first increase since August 1995.

higher than when the Conservatives came to power in May 1979. Only the South-east, East Anglia and Northern Ireland bucked the upward trend in unemployment last month. The national jobless rate is unchanged at 7.9 per cent.

City economists said this underlined the lack of inflationary pressure coming from the labour market, thereby giving the Chancellor scope for further cuts in interest rates if the economy continues to struggle over the coming months.

The stagnation in factory orders put paid to the recent small boom in manufacturing jobs, where rising unit labour costs and falling productivity prompted a 27 per cent cut in the workforce in January.

Midland Bank branch staff asked to reapply for posts in latest round of cuts

Ian King

THOUSANDS of staff at Midland Bank have been asked to reapply for their jobs in the bank's latest round of job cuts.

in its branch network, where Midland is cutting 2,600 jobs this year. Back-office jobs in the branches are being transferred to central processing units.

shortfall, some branch staff will be compelled to reapply for posts. A Midland spokesman said: "Where people are displaced, we will attempt to redeploy them, but it could be that there are a certain number of jobs available, and a certain number of staff applying for them."

However, Midland's plans were attacked by John Brawley, of the banking union, Bifa, who said the tactic was not a new one in the sector.

to get their numbers down to Midland's levels, and now Midland is cutting jobs again, it could be that this is the second tranche."

Bank governor comes out as a Eurosceptic

Richard Thomas

THE Bank of England governor, Eddie George, yesterday defied European attempts to force Britain's hand on monetary union, warning that a dash for a single currency could shatter relations between European countries.

But Mr George insisted that the situation had changed radically since the treaty was signed; pressure on member countries to adhere rigidly to the timetable could undermine the entire European project.

Although Midland, which recently announced annual pre-tax profits of £998 million, expects some 1,170 positions to become available at the units, because of the

Nailing his colours to the Eurosceptic mast, Mr George said he had become increasingly doubtful about the benefits of full monetary union. "If EMU goes wrong it could become a serious source of political discord within Europe rather than contributing to European harmony," he told a Royal Institute of International Affairs conference in London.

If there were doubts about the likely success of a single currency, Mr George said, Britain should stay outside. With sensible monetary policy at home, Britain would not suffer from remaining outside. "There is no particular reason to suppose that the British economy would be damaged by exercising that option," he said.

But profits could be enhanced by £250 million following moves to upgrade 1,000 petrol stations. Plans for 300 new sites in Eastern Europe could add an estimated \$150 million.

The governor also clashed with his European counterparts by insisting that the pound did not have to rejoin the exchange rate mechanism in order to remain the option of taking part in a single currency.

Mr George's concerns about the potential dangers of a single currency were echoed by Adair Turner, director-general of the Confederation of British Industry.

He told the conference that, with varying levels of productivity in different parts of the union, a single currency would drive up unemployment unless there were moves to increase wage flexibility if trade unions managed to harmonise wage levels, EMU would be "an employment disaster."

He said it would be mindless to insist that a currency which had achieved stability outside the ERM be prevented from taking part in monetary union, while a currency which had fluctuated within the new 15 per cent bands was allowed to join.

Germany and France have frozen some spending to keep alive hopes of getting their 1997 deficits down to 3 per cent of gross domestic product to qualify for a European single currency in 1999. Germany's was 3.6 per cent in 1995, France's more than 5 per cent.

The German finance minister, Theo Waigel, in a speech to the German lower house, said he would impose a spending cap, effective from tomorrow, on firms above certain levels, whether already in the budget or not.

German and French officials insisted yesterday that the original provisions of the Maastricht treaty must be adhered to, the pound having to enter the ERM by 1997 to qualify for membership of a single currency by 1999. Klaus Regling, the German finance ministry's director-general, said the change was "the treaty is clear about this."

Bank of France governor Jean-Claude Trichet said: "The letter of the treaty suggests that you have to belong to the ERM."

Jobfree expansion ends BP's dark days

Simon Beavis
Industrial Editor

BRITISH Petroleum yesterday tried to close the bleak chapter which saw it near to collapse four years ago. The group said it expected to boost annual profits by at least \$1.5 billion (\$387 million) to \$4.5 billion by the year 2000.

A further \$100 million would come from replacing 200 million barrels a year with even more cost-effective production, Mr Browne said.

The downstream business is expected to contribute an extra \$300 million in profits, following a half-complete programme of investment totalling \$3 billion.

The City gave an enthusiastic welcome to a forecast that was coupled with a pledge to boost dividends, put up investment by \$1 billion a year to \$6 billion and contain debts at between \$7 billion and \$8 billion. The shares climbed 15p to 546.5p last night.

Chief executive John Browne said the company aimed to deliver dividend growth based on a 50 per cent payout from underlying earnings. The figures are the fullest forecast since the company's near-collapse in 1992 under a huge burden of debts.

But profits could be enhanced by \$250 million following moves to upgrade 1,000 petrol stations. Plans for 300 new sites in Eastern Europe could add an estimated \$150 million.

But the group made it clear that expansion planned in all

three main businesses — exploration and production, refining and retailing and chemicals — was unlikely to mean more jobs after a period of savage rationalisation.

The group is planning to concentrate its chemicals expansion plans in Asia. It forecasts that profits here will rise by \$300 million.

Table with 4 columns: Country, Rate, Country, Rate. Includes Australia 1.81, France 7.42, Italy 2.220, Singapore 2.11, Austria 16.15, Germany 2.1620, Malta 0.54, South Africa 5.80, Belgium 44.75, Greece 364.00, Netherlands 2.46, Spain 183.00, Canada 2.02, Hong Kong 11.87, New Zealand 2.78, Sweden 10.25, Cyprus 0.6975, India 51.53, Norway 9.54, Switzerland 1.78, Denmark 8.43, Ireland 0.9550, Portugal 225, Turkey 20.841, Finland 6.91, Israel 4.70, Saudi Arabia 5.87, USA 1.4900.

Anglo American secures key 6pc stake in Lonrho

Tiny triggers sale to South African group which could swallow trader's mining interests, says Dan Atkinson

ANGLO American, South Africa's largest company, yesterday took a key stake in trading giant Lonrho in a \$91 million move that could prove the first step in the creation of a mining conglomerate spanning some of the world's most valuable and sensitive mineral resources.

could be required to buy the shares. Mr Bock's Dutch-registered company Leerstate bought the shares from Mr Rowland's own vehicle, Yeoman Investments, and has sold them on to Anglo, which has also been granted first refusal during the next 18 months over Mr Bock's existing stake of 18.5 per cent of Lonrho.

While ruling out a bid for the whole of Lonrho, Anglo would not be drawn on whether it planned to swallow the group's mining interests.

Anglo is one part of the industrial triad that forms South Africa's Oppenheimer industrial empire, the other two being diamond giant De Beers and the non-African interests arm, Minarco. Any form of Anglo-Lonrho marriage would be enormously sensitive and would have to be sanctioned out with the authorities in Pretoria.

Mr Browne said that although profits could rise by up to \$2 billion a year, the lower forecast of \$1.5 billion had been used to allow room for slippage, competition and oil price movements.

But Mr Bock said he had sold the Lonrho shares "after careful consideration" because he did not wish to increase his Lonrho stake. He added that after the demerger, he planned to concentrate on the non-mining side.

Ghost may rule out referendum



Edited by Mark Milner

THE exchange rate mechanism has come back to haunt the architects of a single European currency. Once the ERM was the favoured vehicle for achieving monetary union, but plans for a gradual narrowing of its bands until currency rates could be better used in the turbulence which first swept the foreign exchange markets in 1992.

Chancellor finds unemployment going up for the first time in 30 months. Labour can hardly believe its luck. Privately, the Shadow Cabinet is worried that the Government's attempt to talk up the economy may succeed in narrowing the gap between the parties, but the jobless increase aligned the Opposition to intensify its own campaign on job insecurity.

After the second round of speculative assault on the system in 1993, the European Union policymakers grudgingly accepted defeat, widening the bands to 15 per cent — a level which, it was thought, would never be tested. With hindsight it would have been better to have given the system a decent burial.

Ministers are probably right to dismiss last month's data as untypical of the trend. The jobless figures lag economic activity, and we are now feeling the impact of below-trend growth in the second half of last year. This may continue to affect the dole queues for a couple more months, but there are already signs that the growth pause is coming to an end.

That, though, would have meant grappling with the problem of what to do about the clause in the Maastricht Treaty which says currencies have to have lived within the ERM bands for two years to qualify for monetary union. Better than that now, however, as it becomes increasingly apparent that by keeping a valueless ERM in being, just to save face, the policymakers have turned it into a potential barrier to those EU countries which are not members — Britain, Italy, Greece, Sweden and Finland.

The structure of the workforce means two things. Employees are in no position to push for higher wages, which are barely keeping pace with inflation. Even after the jobs growth of the past three years, there are still more than 1.1 million fewer employees in employment than in 1980, and 90 per cent of the 168,000 increase in the past year has been in part-time jobs.

Eddie George, Governor of the Bank of England, may well rage, as he did yesterday, against the mindlessness of barring a stable currency from EMU, while allowing in one which (in theory) might have fluctuated by up to 15 per cent either side of a central rate. Not everyone is convinced by his scrap-the-clause argument, however sensible. As his opposite number at the Bank of France, Jean-Claude Trichet, and the German finance ministry's Klaus Regling made clear from the same platform yesterday: rules are rules.

The problem for the Government is that there is scant evidence to suggest that a resumption in the downward trend will have any impact on its fortunes. Even after the jobs growth of the past three years, there are still more than 1.1 million fewer employees in employment than in 1980, and 90 per cent of the 168,000 increase in the past year has been in part-time jobs.

If that rule holds, however, then an important issue of timing emerges. The decision on who can join will be taken in the spring of 1996 — implying that, unless Britain, for example, rejoins the ERM within the next few weeks it will fail to qualify for EMU.

Together, they constitute an Executive Council. Behind this bureaucracy lie two important messages. First, the much-touted notion of global brands is a mirage for most businesses, even for the likes of Unilever, Elizabeth Arden and Calvin Klein may be global; Persil and Wall's are not.

Second, Europe and North America can no longer tell Asia and South America what to do — with Unilever no less than in the UN. It is time Asian markets were seen in their own right rather than as an adjunct to western businesses. Some people, no doubt, will describe the changes as chaotic, but in fact, they illustrate perfectly the blend of management theory and pragmatism which makes business work.

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Facia extends shoe empire by marching into Germany

Roger Cowe

FACIA has moved on to the Continent with the purchase of shoe shop chain Bata Shuhe, ending a brief pause in the high-street shopping spree which has seen it snap up names such as Saxone, Salisburys and Sock Shop.

was attached to yesterday's announcement. "This 'buy now, pay later' approach has left Facia with a wide-ranging retail empire. First came the Salisburys handbag and accessories chain, which had been passed from Next to Raters but proved profit-resistant. The remainder of the Sock Shop chain followed, the acquisition spree boosted by the appointment of Gary O'Brien as finance director.

The German company, which has 110 stores and sales last year worth 110 million marks (£50 million), is a subsidiary of Bata, the world's largest footwear company.

Facia was founded by enigmatic businessman Stephen Hincliffe in August, 1994 after a career in retailing, property and engineering which ended in acrimony when he was forced out of two public vehicles — James Wilkes and Lynx Holdings — within a week. His private company has yet to file its first set of annual accounts.

Mr Hincliffe has specialised in acquiring retail chains unwanted by their present owners. In many cases it is said he has been paid to take on the failed ventures, and has been allowed to pay for stock over extended periods. As usual, no price

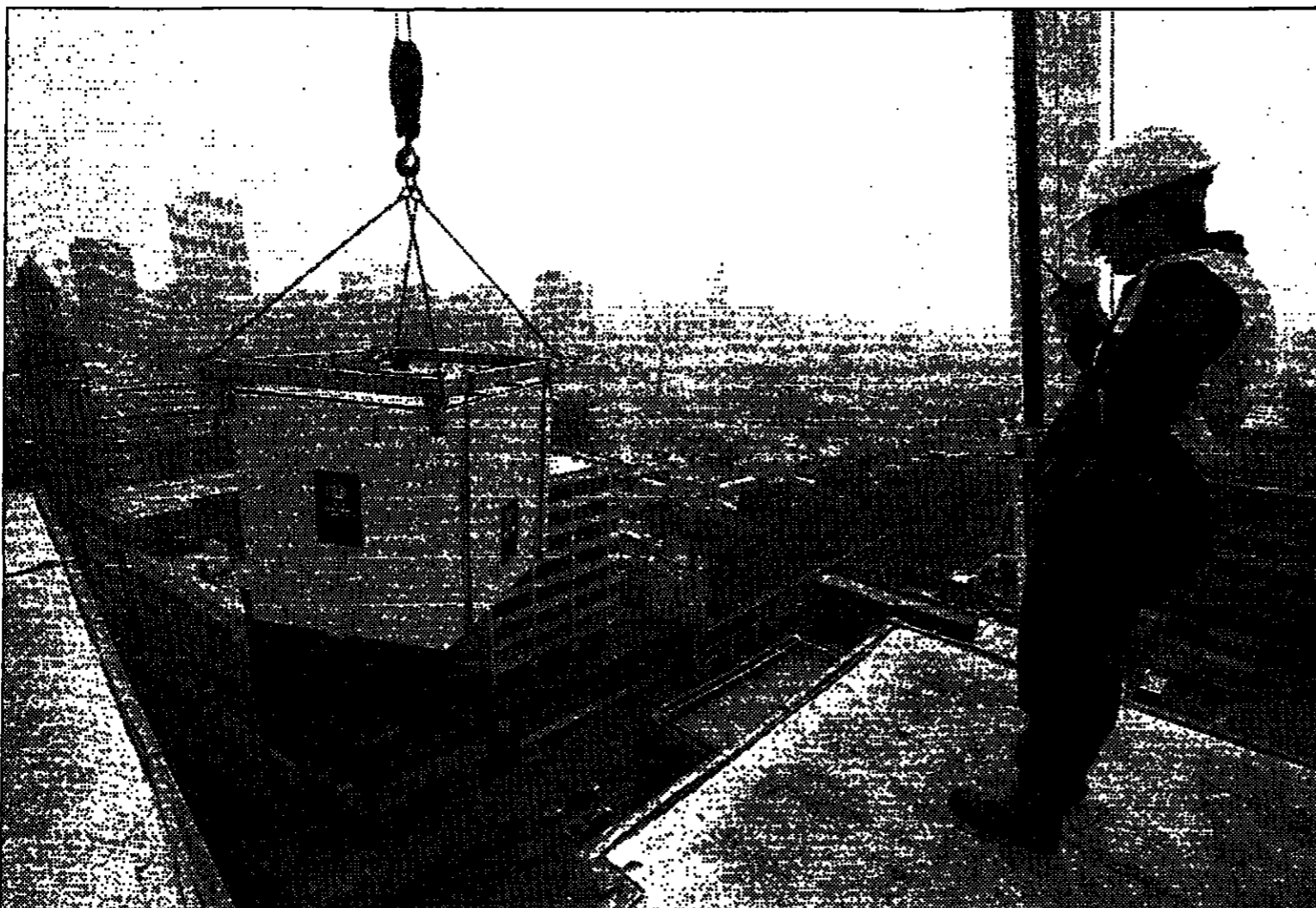
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Now the shoe empire extends to Germany. Mr Hincliffe said yesterday: "We have always intended to make inroads into Europe as quickly as possible. The German stores will be trading under one of the Facia brands in the near future. We are currently considering how best to reallocate on this new foothold in Europe, and further acquisitions cannot be ruled out."

12 FINANCE AND ECONOMICS

NICHOLAS BANNISTER on plans by the unloved BT and Mercury One-2-One to hold on to customers

A five-ton Mercury One-2-One base station is hoisted into place 14 storeys above Manchester's Blackfriars Street



Phone firms pay for loyalty

BRITISH Telecom and Mercury One-2-One have both responded to increased competition in their markets by announcing schemes designed to win customers and build brand loyalty.

home phone numbers will automatically be added to the five numbers so they will get a 10 per cent discount any time they ring home using their BT chargecard.

expected to grow rapidly when portable phone numbers are introduced later this year.

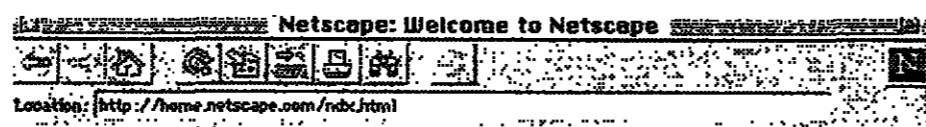
up to 25 per cent on calls to their five specified numbers if they are already taking advantage of other BT discount schemes.

He said capital investment in the network would rise from £896 million by the end of 1997 to £970 million by March 1998 as a result of bringing forward the completion date.

One-2-One claims that more than 25 million calls are made on its network every week and that 70 per cent of its subscribers make a call every day, resulting in average revenue per customer of £35 a month.

Humbled Gates fights back in battle of the browsers

OUTLOOK/ Netscape may have a head start, but Microsoft is snapping at its heels, reports Mark Tran in New York



THE Internet has become the arena for an intense battle between software giant Microsoft and Netscape, the company seeking to become the new market leader.

its primary software for the Web. Netscape was quicker in anticipating the boom than its bigger rival and has grabbed 80 per cent of the market for software for the Internet.

Net returns... Netscape's home page on the Internet called up using Navigator software

part of the Internet rather than competition.

As well as constantly innovating and refining its technology, Netscape has to absorb new subsidiaries and its staff has doubled to more than 500 since June.

And Microsoft is not the only one snapping at Netscape's heels. IBM's Lotus subsidiary is modifying its Notes software for the Web and Oracle has introduced new programmes that work with its popular database software.

Reed's £3bn to spend

PUBLISHING group Reed Elsevier yesterday revealed ambitious plans in electronic publishing as it announced another year of strong growth and a £3 billion war chest with which to pursue acquisitions.

John Mellon said: "We are in the position to make a significant acquisition. There have been conversations, but we are not in serious negotiations."

Book publishing was one of the few areas to report poor profits yesterday. Operating profit fell by 60 per cent due to what the company described as "unfavourable trading conditions in the UK and Australia".

Let's hope hostilities will be suspended over the Easter weekend, when Miss O'Connell and Mr Wrigglesworth are/were planning to marry.

contributor to Your Money, Be Wise, billed by ProShare as an "exciting way to teach secondary schoolchildren a range of issues relating to personal finance".

own work" and "I am prepared to go bust and start again". Quite so.

Underside

Dan Atkinson

ALL IS fair in love and the mortgage war. Bradford & Bingley and Direct Line are slugging it out at the bottom of the market.

INVESTMENT promoter, ProShare, has put out a guide to help children understand the business world. Barings is among

Advertisement for The Vineyard Hotel. Text: "Beside A Stream, On The Slopes Of A Mountain- What A Perfect Place For A Vineyard." Includes an image of the hotel building and contact information: Telephone (021) 683-3044 Facsimile (021) 683-3365.

News in brief

Spring Ram sinks back into red

SPRING Ram, the kitchen and bathroom group which almost collapsed three years ago, has sunk back into the red after being hit by raw material price rises and the anaemic state of the housing market.

Jaguar loses £8m aid

THE Government has cut regional aid due to car company Jaguar by £8 million, following the European Commission's refusal to authorise the full £48 million promised when Jaguar's parent, Ford, opted to build a factory in the UK.

Thomson takes holiday hit

THOMSON Travel yesterday announced a slide in full-year, pre-tax profits from £102.4 million in 1994 to £76.3 million in 1995.

Schroders record £197.3m

CITY bank Schroders yesterday unveiled a record pre-tax profit of £197.3 million in 1995, compared to £195.4 million in the previous year.

Greenbury laggards

MORE than a quarter of companies have failed to implement the Greenbury recommendation that remuneration committees should be entirely composed of non-executive directors.

Swiss Bank profits up 30pc

SWISS Bank Corporation yesterday announced a 30 per cent rise in pre-tax profits for 1995 at 1.05 billion Swiss francs (£1.5 billion).

Hillsdown targets doughboys

HILLSDOWN Holdings is discussing with Allied Domecq the potential purchase of Allied unit, the Continental Biscuits Group.

PRO-SMOKING Day (1)

PRO-SMOKING Day (1): Ronson chief executive Howard Hodgson and good-looking, according to his PR firm - has appealed to anyone cutting out the ash to enter their now-unwanted lighters into his firm's "worldwide memorabilia search".

PRO-SMOKING Day (2)

PRO-SMOKING Day (2): Over at the Bank of England, it is not only Ronson to see if it needed fuel... (Casino, Royale, Cape, 1953).

Vertical advertisement on the right edge of the page. Includes text: "Cart keep", "Snowline McC...", "Sport".

Soccer

FA Cup, sixth round: Nottingham Forest 0, Aston Villa 1

Carr keeps Villa on double road

ASTON VILLA'S success in the cups runs deep. Already finalists in the Coca-Cola Cup, Brian Little's side moved impressively into the semi-final of the FA Cup last night despite being heavily under strength...



One for the scrapbook... Carr, on his first start for Villa, scores against his old club, to the despair of Bart-Williams and Gemmill

During his 12 months at Villa he had previously managed only 14 minutes of first-team football, so this was an emotional first start for him. He soon made sure it was a joyous one too.

Picking up the ball on the central edge of the Forest area he seemed to be looking to pass. As the home defence stood off in anticipation, Carr spotted his chance and fired a

rasping shot into the top right-hand corner of Crossley's goal. The keeper was helpless, Carr ecstatic. Apart from two half-chances for Roy, Forest were no doubt quick to disabuse the notion that during the interval for they emerged minus the dilettante Roy and back in full possession of the drive and spirit that had earned them those impressive results in the first place.

Roy was replaced by McGregor, who was stationed on the right wing enabling Stone to move inside to help neutralise the first-half threat that had been springing regularly from Villa's midfield. The reshuffle quickly paid off as Forest turned the screw. On 60 minutes Woon, on the edge of the Villa area, let go a left-foot screamer

which Wright kicked off the line. Shortly afterwards McGrath headed off the line, again from Woon, and then a mix-up between Bosnich and Seimca set up Gemmill but he shot wide. Nottingham Forest: Crossley, Lytle, Christie, Bart-Williams, Pearce, Stone, Gemmill, Phillips, Woon, Roy (McGregor), Carr, York, Milner. Referee: M Bodenham (Looe).

Premiership: Blackburn 1, Leeds United 0

Rovers profit from Fenton dividend

WHAT with the numbing chill factor of a wicked wind and the equally numbing shortage of goals, the match between Blackburn and Rovers was a blood-pulsing, but at least it was marginally better than these two sides' goalless draw on New Year's Day in the fog.

chested down a Shearer chip but pulled his shot wide. The match then hibernated, waking only briefly when the ball fell to Gallacher after Lukic took it off Shearer's head. If the Scot had kept his ball in the air it might just have scored. Needless to say he did not. Fenton came on immediately after the interval and almost as quickly gave Blackburn the lead. He had replaced Warburton, injured while trying to steer the ball past Lukic in United's last act of the first half.

Liverpool 2, Wimbledon 2

Arsenal tell Wright he must stay

REJECTED Ian Wright's transfer request and informed the unsettled striker that he must see out the remainder of his four-year contract. This may not be the end of the matter, however. Arsenal are unlikely to refuse an inflated offer for the 23-year-old and the signs are that he will leave in the summer. Wright asked for a move at the weekend and upped the stakes by informing a Sunday newspaper that he was not prepared to accept a transfer to Highbury. But yesterday Arsenal's managing director Ken Friar said: "The board have advised Ian they are not prepared to grant his request for a transfer... this was a unanimous decision of the board and the manager, Mr. Rioch."

Blackburn 1, Wimbledon 2

Collymore shows worth

LIVERPOOL may not admit it but the pursuit of the Premiership title was almost certainly reduced from a three- to a two-horse race at a freezing Anfield last night. All day long, football had seemed strangely irrelevant, and prior to kick-off a club accustomed to tragedy and heartbreak marked the events of Dunblane with an impeccably observed one-minute silence. Wimbledon play a good deal more football than they used to, which possibly explains why they are currently flirting with disaster down among the Premiership's deadwood. There was no lack of ambition, with Harford, Holdsworth and Ekoku positively clambering over one another in their attempts to transform the scraps of midfield possession into something resembling a hearty meal. It was an un-

Blackburn 1, Wimbledon 2

Collymore shows worth

edifying spectacle, full to the brim with bone-jarring tackles and ugly, brash tactics. As always, Liverpool were the model of patience, but the temptation to up the tempo and thus match the cartoon-like work-rate of Wimbledon must have been enormous. It was a temptation largely resisted, even early on, much of Liverpool's football hinted at desperation. Wimbledon's resolve weakened on 35 minutes. Having defended so stoutly, they foolishly allowed Steve McManis to take delivery of a Barnes pass and convert with a low drive. Wimbledon contributed little, yet they went within a whisker of restoring parity two minutes into what was a more fluent, more appealing, second half. Wright has made previous few errors this season but in attempting to find his goalkeeper James he hopelessly underhit his

Blackburn 1, Wimbledon 2

Collymore shows worth

pass. Harford instinctively lobbed the ball forward but was denied by James who nudged the ball up and over the crossbar. Liverpool did not need the warning. Nine minutes on and there was to be no reprieve. A posse of defenders stood and watched Leonhardsson cross from the right and Ekoku arrive at the far post to bundle in. Worse was to follow. On the hour, Wright again surrendered possession and whether the beneficiary, Ekoku, was shooting or crossing was irrelevant as Holdsworth arrived to force home. Liverpool were not to be denied. After sixty-eight minutes Stan Collymore swept in from close range to pull them level. Liverpool: James (Goal), Wright, Bosh, Sciales, Jones (Redknapp), Thomas, Barnes, McManis, Suttivan, Cunningham, Blackwell, Perry, Kinnear, Leachman, Jones, Egan, Ekinu, Holdsworth (Thom), 70, Harford (Kaye, 82min). Referee: G Willard (Woking).

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McCarthy keeps faith MICK MCCARTHY has kept faith with the Republic of Ireland's veterans in his first squad as manager for the friendly with Russia in Dublin on March 27. Paul McGrath, Pat Bonser, Ray Houghton, Tony Cascarino and John Aldridge - all over 30 - are included. McCarthy revealed that he was still pursuing Tottenham's striker Chris Armstrong and Sean Dundee, who plays for Karlsruher.

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP Blackburn (9) 1 23,520 Fenton (4) 2,350 Liverpool (1) 2 23,520 Wimbledon (3) 2 23,520 Collymore (5) 24,083

Results FA Cup Sixth round: Bolton Forest (0) 0 Aston Villa (1) 1 Carr 25 (Aston Villa home to Leeds Utd or Liverpool) FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP Blackburn (9) 1 23,520 Fenton (4) 2,350 Liverpool (1) 2 23,520 Wimbledon (3) 2 23,520 Collymore (5) 24,083

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Boxing

Lewis running out of time to halt big fight

Jack Massarik on moves to stop the Bruno-Tyson show as tension mounts

FRANK BRUNO is already being envisaged by a promoter as the greatest British sporting hero of all time. His bitter British rival Lennox Lewis, meanwhile, is running out of time in a court battle to block Saturday's big fight in Las Vegas. Lewis's campaign to annul the World Boxing Council heavyweight title fight between Bruno and Mike Tyson came full circle yesterday when a Dallas judge referred it back to the same New Jersey court that first heard Lewis's application for an injunction. The High Court in London refused it but the New Jersey action is still pending.

ing Tyson, yet he did and earned \$24 million for his defence against Evander Holyfield. If Bruno knocks out Tyson, it won't be considered a joke. It won't be the end of Mike Tyson either; he'll have to come back to the big time. In this scenario Bruno would be very big-time indeed. He has spoken of plans to retire after Saturday's fight, win or lose, yet as the sport's biggest drawcard he would command a fortune for a unification fight with the World Boxing Association's champion, the unremarkable Bruce Seldon. Staggering sums in the region of \$20 million are already being mentioned for such a fight this summer, possibly in Britain. Of course Bruno has a scheduled public workout and that is still a tall order. Despite his incarceration and ring rust, Tyson is seen by just about everyone as the man to beat, the man against whom any heavyweight must be verified. Bruno is therefore the best underdog, but he is the first fighter of genuine world class that Tyson has had to face in almost five years. When Tyson again cancelled a scheduled public workout and a satellite television interview, Bruno did likewise, saying that he was the current holder of the WBC championship belt and that if his challenger was not prepared to talk to the media then he would not either. Some friction has been reported in the Tyson camp. The moody former champion is apparently taking little notice of his trainer Jay Bright and has not looked impressive in training. Bright, always loyal to Tyson and normally very accessible to reporters, has been gaged by other members of the camp for being too frank in recent public utterances. "Mike was a little off today," he had told reporters after one sparring session. "He just wasn't picking himself up. He was just flat, it was a flat day. He has looked a lot better."

Blackburn 1, Wimbledon 2

Knowles in Olympic dispute

PETER KNOWLES refused a medical test from the official Badminton Association of England doctor yesterday after his withdrawal from the world's leading tournament, the Yonex All England Championships, created suspicion that he had gone so to enhance his prospects of qualifying for the Olympics. The England No. 2 denied the accusations, producing a medical certificate from his own doctor in support of his contention that a bad arm was his reason for pulling out of a first-round match with the seeded Taipei player Fung Pernadi. However, defeat by a man who has twice beaten him would have cost Knowles Olympic qualifying points, 1500 medals before the Atlanta cut-off date. "It's what I expected. It makes a mockery of the system," said England's Anders Nielsen, whose 15-5, 15-2 win over Denmark's Peter Jarum is unlikely to help him reach Atlanta. The day's major upset saw the favourite Joko Supriat of Indonesia beaten 15-11, 15-2 in the second round by China's unseeded Li Liwen.

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CHELTENHAM FESTIVAL: GOLD CUP DAY

Dublin Flyer to clip One Man's wings

Ron Cox

TWO DOWN, one to go. That's Richard Dunwoody's costly record on the big-race favourites so far during Cheltenham week...

A superb display of jumping and galloping saw Dublin Flyer register a magnificent nine lengths victory over the Grand National fences in last season's John Hughes Memorial at Aintree.

Big race line-up Channel 4

- 3.30 TOTE CHELTENHAM GOLD CUP CHASE 2m 11 f (10) £151,166
301 376-174 BARTON BANK (19) (9) D Nicholson 10-12-95
302 107-117 COULSTON HILL BROTHERS (20) (9) C Crooks 8-12-95



Festival first... Sutherland makes his Cheltenham debut today at the age of 64

Fergie returns by Imperial demand

Ireland's great hope for the Gold Cup is trained by a one-legged Old Etonian late into a chequered career, Mike Walker reports

FERGIE Sutherland is a smiling man, and at about 10 to four this afternoon you might just see it. There is a fair chance (about 5-1) that by then he will be standing in Cheltenham's winners' enclosure...

entry at Cheltenham, he said of Imperial Call: "Any thing that good I always sold." Sutherland is far from intimidated by the occasion or the opposition.

manding horse from the south-west corner of Ireland. "One Man is rated the best in England, 5lb higher than our horse who is the highest-rated in Ireland," he said.

However, though they were "two or three useful years", the huntsman itching inside Sutherland was not sated. "I stopped training on the Flat in '63 because I wanted to train jumpers. I was happy and moderately successful at Newmarket but I'd always been more into riding myself and I'd always fancied knocking a young jumper to be reversed."

"There are steep slopes and plenty of jumps, so they learn to know what to do with their feet," he said. "It's the ideal place for making horses."

One Man's jumping has been foot-perfect, and at times breathtaking, around Ayr, Haydock and Sandown this season. But the undulating of Cheltenham place particular demands on a steeple-chaser, and One Man has yet to show he is equal to them.

Quest, who was lucky to beat Percy Smollett at Kempton. Tim Forster, trainer of Dublin Flyer (3-30), is a season's pessimist and is on record as saying he will be "amazed" if the 10-year-old wins. But you can be sure he didn't fancy any of his three Grand National winners either.

He rode and schooled all the horses himself on the contours of the Lee - a remarkable feat given that the military career he had been educated for at Sandhurst was ended prematurely by a Korean war laminitis that took off his left leg.

Just as Viking Flagship for whom the ground was a shade too fast, looked about to set sail up the hill, having taken the measure of the favourite Sound Man, Francis Woods, on the outside, and settled the issue in a few strides.

Rest of the Cheltenham card with TV form

- 2.15 Debutante Doyles 4.45 Kerry Ordeal
2.30 DERRYMOYLE (near) 4.40 Newlands Sweet Song
2.40 Dublin Flyer (nb) 5.15 Onda Regratta
2.50 Cheryl's Lad

Channel 4

- 2.15 DAILY EXPRESS TRUMPET HURDLE 4YO 2m 11 f (10) £44,600
101 16201 ANLAW (14) (9) P Hobbs 11-0
102 16202 TREAT (15) (9) P Hobbs 11-0
103 16203 CRETIC LANE (11) (9) D Nichol 10-12-95

Channel 4

- 4.05 CHRISTIE FOXHUNTER CHASE (Aintree) 2m 11 f (10) £18,544
401 4542-81 CARR COOTE (14) (9) C Crooks 12-10-95
402 1918-11 CLARE BANK (20) (9) M Taylor 8-12-95
403 11-11 COOL DUB (20) (9) M Taylor 8-12-95

Results

- CHELTENHAM
2.15 4, URUBANER, C Swan (8-1); 2, Debutante Doyles (10-1); 3, Derry Doyle (10-1); 4, Newlands Sweet Song (10-1); 5, Onda Regratta (10-1); 6, Cheryl's Lad (10-1)
2.30 4, DUBLIN FLYER (10-1); 2, Barton Bank (10-1); 3, Coulston Hill Brothers (10-1); 4, One Man (10-1); 5, Sound Man (10-1); 6, Francis Woods (10-1)

O'Brien in Cup storm

Chris Hawkins

ADAN O'BRIEN saddled his first Cheltenham Festival winner with Urubaner in the Sun Alliance Hurdle yesterday, but the day was marred when he was reported to the Jockey Club under rules dealing with "the wilful disregard of the interest of the racegoers" and "matters prejudicial to the integrity of racing."

The case against him concerned his overnight declaration of the Champion Hurdle ninth Hotel Minella for yesterday's Coral Cup, thereby compressing the weights for this 23-runner handicap.

When the race was run Hotel Minella was back home in Ireland in his box, having been down home in the morning. O'Brien commented: "Hotel Minella did not eat up or drink last night and I have to think of the well-being of the horse."

He ran twice in successive days of the Punchestown Festival last year and it would have been quite possible for him to run again, but as I was not happy with him he took the place of another horse on a night home. The whole thing is crazy - they're trying to say I'm lying."

Channel 4

- 2.50 BONSMPRT STAYERS' HURDLE 2m 11 f (10) £35,835
201 2910-10 ALLEGATION (11) (9) M Pigg 5-11-10
202 4116-10 BALASANI (20) (9) M Pigg 10-11-10
203 19-1111 BETTER TIMES AHEAD (24) (9) G Ringler 10-11-10

Advertisement for RACELINE FIRST FOR CHELTENHAM LIVE RACE COMMENTARY 0891-168-201. Includes details about race coverage and contact information.

The Guardian Thursday March 14 1996

Cricket

Lara holds key

Mike Selvey on a revival that has led to a semi-final in Chandigarh today

AS YESTERDAY'S dismal scenes in Calcutta demonstrated, the word fan is short for fanatic. And one such character visited the Lahore High Court on Monday.

Mr Khalid Farooq wished, he said, to initiate some proceedings. Nothing unusual in that, but this ardent cricket fan wished to prosecute, under the War Crimes Act, the Pakistan team who lost their quarter-final match to India last Saturday.

They had not played in the proper manner and had caused "irreparable loss to the prestige of the country and nation". Furthermore he believed that the Pakistani captain Wasim Akram, in not playing in the match, even if injured, was guilty of high treason: as was the doctor who had signed Wasim's medical certificate.

In Karachi another fan saw the Bangalore match on television, shot out the screen with a revolver and then did the same to his brains.

Since then the Pakistan Cricket Board has instigated a probe into the reasons for the defeat, investigations have begun into allegations of pay-offs, there has been a suggestion that the players threw the match because of the threats, and Wasim's home in Lahore has been pelted with rotten eggs and tomatoes. And Pakistan had played well for most of the tournament.

So England can count themselves fortunate that their demise has been greeted with nothing stronger than an agreement by the Test and County Cricket Board to set up a working party.

A couple of weeks ago, if West Indies had been



Sweeping success... Mark Waugh on his way to 130 against Kenya, one of his three centuries in this World Cup

PHOTOGRAPH: SHAUN BOTTERELL

obliged to journey home, the reception accorded to Richie Richardson and the rest of his team would surely have been more hostile. Their defeat by Kenya in Madras in ominous style in the face of an extremely competitive test.

They have in their ranks one of the batsmen of the moment, Mark Waugh, whose match-winning century against New Zealand was his third of the tournament, and any side who can afford to leave out a player of the quality of Michael Slater cannot lack depth in the order.

But on these slow, dusty pitches the bowling has

been more of a worry, with the seamers expensive and lacking penetration and Mark Taylor forced to use the part-time spin of Mark Waugh and Michael Ewan.

West Indies, having beaten them once to ensure qualification, know they can do so again. The win in Jaipur was achieved thanks to Curtly Ambrose's ability to give nothing away in alien conditions, and to the pride and determination of Richardson and the genius of Brian Lara.

Such has been the nature of the pitches here that, once a batsman gets into form, it is possible to maintain it. Lara, until the Aus-

tralia match, had shown no touch. But South Africa found out to their cost that when he has the taste it takes special bowling and great thought to contain him.

Lara surely holds the key to who will make the journey to Lahore for Sunday's final. Frustrate him, then dismiss him, and the West Indies batting may collapse. But if he succeeds, the rest follow. It really could be as simple as that.

Allan Border, Australia's 40-year-old former captain who left the international arena in 1994, is to retire at the end of the current Sheffield Shield season.

clubs have been more intransigent in their opposition. The ARL has given the eight defectors until noon today to decide whether they will return to the fold. It announced yesterday that its competition — the Optus Cup, previously known as the Winfield Cup — would begin its season a week tomorrow.

Murdoch, who saw Super League as a key element of his satellite television interests in Australia, is reported to have invested 265 million in the competition. The 311 players will remain on his payroll.

That was no consolation to the ARL, which had halloed the original orders handed down on Monday as a sweeping victory. Losing the players, its counsel Bob Elliott told the court, "would destroy the effectiveness of the ARL competition."

"All the players are absolutely delighted," said Chris Johns, speaking on behalf of the Super League. Some have indicated that they will play rugby union or even return to the ARL rather than return to the ARL.

Rugby Union

Dallaglio a step nearer England captaincy

Robert Armstrong

JACK ROWELL, England's manager, yesterday dropped a strong hint that Lawrence Dallaglio of Wasps will be a leading candidate for the job of England captain next season.

Rowell also paid a notable generous tribute to Will Carling in advance of his farewell game as captain, against Ireland at Twickenham on Saturday.

Dean Richards was passed fit to play after coming through a two-hour training session behind closed doors at Rotherham yesterday. The Leicester No. 8 showed no reaction to the left knee injury that had ruled him out of Sunday's session at Twickenham.

"Lawrence Dallaglio has leadership capability, which is why he's captain of Wasps and making a good list of it," said Rowell. "But we still have a way to go. We'll be into next season before the issue of captaincy is decided."

The question of Carling's successor had not been specifically discussed because there was still the final championship match ahead, Rowell explained. "It's only a few days since the news of his retirement broke and I haven't really thought about who will take over. But Dallaglio has impressed us all in a short time and against Scotland was outstanding."

Rugby League

Super League speeds appeal

RUPERT MURDOCH's men suffered another setback in the Australian courts yesterday, but they were still talking a good game afterwards.

The plea by Murdoch's News Ltd for a stay of orders banning his Super League until the turn of the century was not upheld. But the Federal Court in Sydney did rule that 311 players already signed to Super League could not be forced to play in the established Australian Rugby League, and it ordered appeal proceedings to be expedited.

This last decision delighted the Super League camp. Ken Crowley, chairman and chief executive of News Ltd, said confidently: "The decision means that the appeal will be finalised much more speedily, with the prospect of Super League being on the field prior to mid-year."

This prospect may persuade the eight defecting Super League clubs not to return to the ARL. The Auckland Warriors chairman Gerald Ryan has said his club are ready to switch back to the established league, but other

Cycling

Boardman sees his chances buried by snow and Jalabert

William Fotheringham in Milan

AS LAURENT JALABERT of France swept imperiously to a second stage win in two days, Britain's Chris Boardman saw his chances of winning the Giro d'Italia slip away from the slopes of the Colles Noir mountain above this little town in the Aveyron.

Throughout the 100-mile stage a gale-force headwind whisked across the bleak plain of the Massif Central any building snowdrifts. It helped the race leader and his team keep the peloton together until the five-mile climb to the finish; here Jalabert had only to repeat the attack that had given him the race lead on Tuesday.

Sport in brief

Olympic Games

Kenya refuses to allow the 800m world champion Wilson Kipketer to run for his adopted country of Denmark at Atlanta in July, so Danish efforts are being redoubled to grant Kipketer full citizenship in time for the games. He can represent Denmark in world championships but the Olympic Games are open only to full nationals.

Tennis

Boris Becker was upset 6-3, 7-5 by Carlos Costa of Spain in the second round of the Newsweek Champions Cup at Indian Wells, California. In the women's event Jennifer Capriati exited the second tournament of her comeback, beaten 6-3, 6-3 by Chanda Rubin. "She's been playing and I haven't," said Capriati, who made 46 unforced errors and double faulted seven times. Steffi Graf beat

Golf

Muffin the first to come out

MUFFIN Spencer-Devlin, heart-throb of the 20s and full-time eccentric, has become the first player in the 46-year history of the US tour to declare herself a lesbian.

"Coming out is like an incredibly huge weight being lifted from my shoulders," she says in an article in this week's Sports Illustrated. Spencer-Devlin, a manic-depressive who had a part in a Star Trek film and believes herself to be a reincarnation of King Lear, plans to "exchange vows" in May with Lynda Roth, a musician-composer.

"I applaud Muffin," the LPGA president Vicki Ferguson commented. "I'm not saying every player will be thrilled about it, but we're a family and we respect each other."

Spencer-Devlin, 42, has won three tournaments in her 18 years on the LPGA tour. She is best remembered for storming out of a pre-tournament dinner at Woburn in 1990 after being removed from the table. "I'm a fringing American, and every player will tell me what to do."

Hexham runners and riders

Table listing horse racing results for Hexham, including race numbers, names of horses, and winners. Races include 2.00 All-weather, 2.35 Synchro Celebration, 3.15 Pennine Pride, 2.35 Yellowfield Handicap, 3.15 Win with the Tote Handicap, and 3.50 Quilty Handicap.

Longfield (All-weather Flat)

Table listing horse racing results for Longfield, including race numbers, names of horses, and winners. Races include 1.55 Don't Drop Bombs, 2.00 Jockey, 2.30 Our Shades, 1.55 Don't Drop Bombs, 1.55 Don't Drop Bombs, 1.55 Don't Drop Bombs, 1.55 Don't Drop Bombs.

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Dallaglio a step nearer England captaincy

Jack Rowell, England's manager, yesterday dropped a strong hint that Lawrence Dallaglio of Wasps will be a leading candidate for the job of England captain next season. Rowell also paid a notable generous tribute to Will Carling in advance of his farewell game as captain, against Ireland at Twickenham on Saturday. Dean Richards was passed fit to play after coming through a two-hour training session behind closed doors at Rotherham yesterday. The Leicester No. 8 showed no reaction to the left knee injury that had ruled him out of Sunday's session at Twickenham.

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Blunketed today for the first time: CHELTENHAM: 2.15 Our Kris, Paddy's Return, Danjing; 2.50 Silver Wedge; 4.05 Kerry Orchid. LINGFIELD: 3.05 Southern Dominon, HEXHAM: 2.00 Overhill.

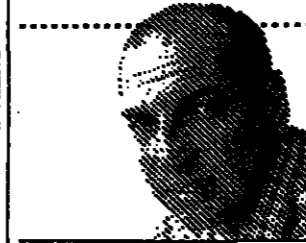
Sports Guardian

CROWD ERUPTS AS SRI LANKA HUMBLE THEIR NEIGHBOURS WITH DEVASTATING DISPLAY



Riot stopped play... armed guards escort Aravinda da Silva from the pitch after the abandonment. "This is a sad day for cricket," said the match referee Clive Lloyd

World Cup riot was waiting to happen



Mike Selvey

THE underlying fear that has attended the World Cup throughout its history was founded last night as the semi-final exploded into riot beneath the floodlights of Calcutta. The moment the first bottles began to rain on to the field and the flames flickered into life on the terraces of Eden Gardens, the cricket supporters of India had crossed the threshold from partisan support to mob rule. "Share the Magic", the tournament's slogan says, Magic? Bombs in Colombo, riots in Calcutta, death threats to players; and this is supposed to be the celebration of world cricket, not the third world war. Only a relatively small hooligan element caused last night's trouble. It always is the unruly minority who spoil the enjoyment of the masses. Most spectators in the crowd of 100,000, normally one of the most appreciative, would have wanted play to continue to the bitter end.

back on the outfield watching the terraces burn. Before the game, as the crowd filtered in, there was supposed to be a full security inspection of bags. No missile of any description should have been admitted. Yet there were countless bottles. It would be easy to write the competition off on the strength of this last incident, but the signs have always been there that, when it reached the knock-out stages and the teams were playing for keeps, the tension might prove too much. So Pakistan, when they qualified to play India, were undecided whether it would actually be a greater burden to play in Bangalore and risk the hostility of an Indian crowd should they win than to play in, say, Karachi and lose in front of their own volatile public. Either way a time-bomb was ticking. The arrogance of the organisers has been boundless. They have trumpeted their financial acumen but the competition has long been branded a logistical disaster and the format tedious. And a sporting event of this magnitude cannot be run in an atmosphere that demands armed soldiers outside team hotel rooms and where the primary concern is not whether a captain should bring up fine-leg but whether fine-leg is likely to be brained by a lump of concrete.

India go down in flames

Sri Lanka through to final as match ends in chaos

David Hopps in Calcutta

INDIA's conviction that the World Cup was within their grasp was crushed in humiliating circumstances yesterday as crowd protests at Eden Gardens forced the abandonment of their semi-final and

the award of the game to Sri Lanka by default. The visitors were heading for an emphatic victory, with India collapsing to 120 for eight, when a volatile crowd made its protest. The fall of the eighth wicket saw bottles and fruit rain down on the outfield and several small fires started in the stands.

As the umpires stopped the game, and the Sri Lankans clustered apprehensively on the pitch, the ICC match referee Clive Lloyd strode on to the field to take charge. He insisted that play be suspended — for 20 minutes — and the police restored order — and warned that unless the

protests subsided he would award the game to Sri Lanka. Attempts to restart the game immediately proved abortive as Sri Lanka's boundary fielders were again pelted by missiles. The umpires, as advised, instantly abandoned the match.

"I wanted the match to finish if possible but I had no problem in giving it to Sri Lanka. That's within my remit," said Lloyd. "I've seen crowd disturbances before but I've never seen anything like that. This is very sad for Eden Gardens, Calcutta and cricket in India."

He said he had no option but to call the game off, adding that he would make a full report to the ICC. The Zimbabwean umpire Ian Robinson said: "One glass bottle came out of the members' area and over the sight-screen. It was probably thrown by someone who had paid \$500 for his ticket and was pretty annoyed."

India's captain Mohammad Azharuddin did not attempt to excuse the home supporters. "You all saw what happened out there," he said. "None of us is proud of it."

The abandonment caused the Sri Lankans to cuff the smoke-filled air with delight and left Vinod Kambli, India's last recognised batsman, to weep with sorrow and frustration as he left the field.

Sri Lanka continue to confound most expectations and confound them hugely. Everything deemed likely to under-

mine them duly happened yesterday: their inspirational pinch-hitters Sanath Jayasuriya and Ramesh Kaluwitharana were both dismissed in the first over and Sachin Tendulkar made runs for India.

Even faced by such afflictions, they made 251 for eight and would have won by a street. It was their third win by default in this tournament but no one could question its justness. Azharuddin must brace himself for widespread censure after choosing to bowl first.

That decision was fiercely condemned as Sri Lanka's four spinners had a field day on a loose, reaid pitch which turned startlingly as the match wore on. The captain, dismissed for nought, was roundly barracked and accused of making a major miscalculation.

While Tendulkar remained, batting with supreme confidence, India's innings progressed to order. He rebuffed Vaas's strictly regulated left-arm seam, drove leg-side rough, transformed and worked the off-spinners at will into the leg-side gaps.

But the introduction of Jayasuriya's left-arm spin, turning prodigiously from the leg-side, rough, transformed and worked the off-spinners at will into the leg-side gaps.

Earlier their bowlers had had to contend with mid-afternoon temperatures approaching 100F but Azharud-

din must have calculated that his hunch had paid off when Jayasuriya and Kaluwitharana, perhaps disabled by Eden Gardens' vast boundaries, slashed Srinath to third man within four deliveries.

"What happens if you lose a pinch-hitter early?" Sri Lanka's coach Dav Whatmore had been asked. "Rely on the other one," he had replied. "What happens if you lose both?"

Whatmore had just smiled at that, but Sri Lanka's answer was to bat with verve and resolve. De Silva's 66, from 47 balls, was a gem. Angry fans later burned effigies of Azharuddin and shouted "Down with India" in Calcutta, and in Ahmedabad police fired a shot into the air to disperse a stone-throwing crowd.



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SCOREBOARD

SRI LANKA	INDIA
S T Jayasuriya c Venkatesh Prasad	S R Tendulkar st Kaluwitharana
1 K Srinath	1 N S Sathu c Jayasuriya b Vaas
2 P Gunathilaka c Kumble b Srinath	2 S V Manjrekar b Jayasuriya
3 A de Silva b Kumble	3 M Achuthanandan c S b Dharmasena
4 R S Mahanama ret hurt	4 V G Kamble not out
5 A Ranatunga st Jayasuriya	5 J Srinath not out
6 H P Tikkarame c Tendulkar	6 A D Jadeja b Jayasuriya
7 Venkatesh Prasad	7 R Mongia c Jayasuriya b de Silva
8 D B Dharmasena b Tendulkar	8 A R Kapoor c de Silva b Muralitharan
9 W P U Vaas not out	9 Extras (fibs, w)
10 M Muralitharan not out	
11 Extras (b1, b10, w1, n12)	

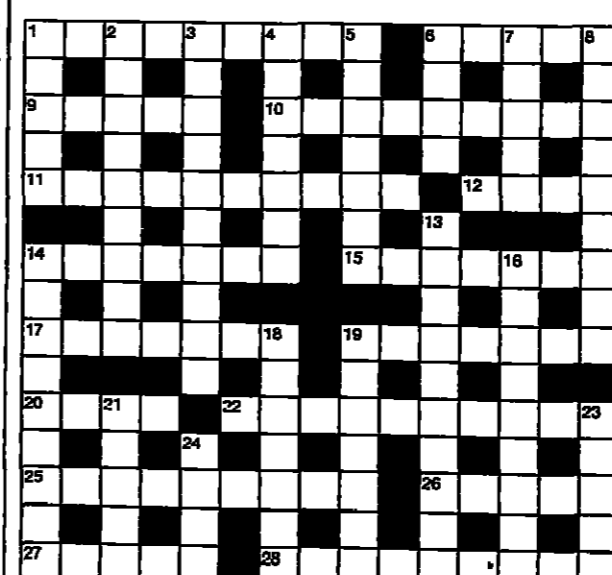
Total (for 8, 50 overs) 281
Fall of wickets: 1, 25, 65, 100, 200, 220, 244.
Bowling: Srinath 7-1-34-3; Kumble 10-0-51-1; Venkatesh Prasad 4-0-40-1; Kapoor 10-0-40-0; Jadeja 6-0-31-0; Tendulkar 10-1-34-2.

G2 cover story

Last year Harmston, a self-assured looking man with a silvery beard and a creeping belly, married three more women in a single ceremony, taking each, at two week intervals, for honeymoons in southern Utah.

Guardian Crossword No 20,600

Set by Custos

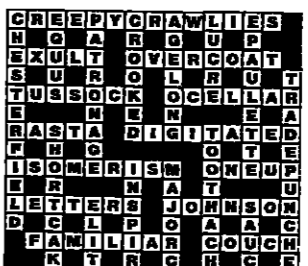


Across

- 1 Preserve mother and child approaching difficult situation (6-3)
- 6 Winds, standard in South-West, backing (5)
- 9 Inflamed about motorway restriction (5)
- 10 Girl scrambling with haste is comparatively gruesome (9)
- 11 Instruments causing damage in Sumo wrestling (10)
- 12, 14 More than one music-maker, causing mirth, resigns, oddly (4-7)
- 15 Grappling-iron needed — hastily prepare mine (7)
- 17 Records one gets Princess to sign (7)
- 19, 20 It's seen in a group given curseys and miscellaneous items (4,3,4)

Down

- 1 Kind of earthenware coming from site of oracle mostly (5)
- 2 Brief notes leave me little time to get name in drama school (9)
- 3 Treating children with bone-troble or twitch, expected to be kept in (10)
- 4 Simpton's vessels filled with spirit (7)
- 5 Giving nasty exhalation when grasped by ape (7)



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Bland statement offers no specific action • Arafat slams blockade of Palestinians

Summit lets Iran off hook

Derek Brown in Jerusalem and Ehsan Masry in Sharm el-Sheikh

THE outcome of yesterday's brief summit in Egypt fell far short of Israeli and American hopes for a united stand against Islamist violence and condemnation of Iran's alleged sponsorship of terrorism.

Instead, the 37-country summit produced a statement of studied blandness, condemning "terror in all its abhorrent forms, whatever its motivation, and whoever its perpetrator, including recent terrorist attacks in Israel."

Iran was not mentioned. Nor was there any progress on specific new anti-terror moves. There was, however, a pledge by the summiters to co-operate more closely, particularly in identifying the sources of extremist groups' funds and cutting them off.

They also agreed to set up a committee to prepare more precise suggestions and reports in the immediate aftermath of the summit, intelligence officials, including the CIA director, John Deutch, met to discuss closer co-operation.

According to US officials, the aim was to build a close working alliance which would swap information, and perhaps mount joint operations. The officials said the co-operation would start between Israel and the US, and could be extended to Jordan and the Palestinian self-rule authority to form the basis of a kind of anti-terror Interpol.

The Palestinian president, Yasser Arafat, fared marginally better than Israel, winning oblique recognition of his complaints about Israel's blockade of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is undermining the peace process.

Reading the final statement at the end of the four-hour summit, the US president, Bill Clinton, spoke of the participants' support for the Israeli-Palestinian agreements, and their decision "politically and economically to reinforce it, to enhance the security situation for both, with special attention to the current and pressing needs of the Palestinians."

The summit was jointly and hastily called by President Clinton and the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, after the recent wave of suicide bombings in Israel which claimed 82 lives. It was held in Sharm el-Sheikh, a small holiday resort at the southern tip of the Sinai peninsula.

The final statement had been drafted in advance, although only just. Well into yesterday morning, officials were wrangling over the tone

and content of the communiqué, with Israel pressing for a more strident attack on the Islamists and Iran, and the Arab countries insisting that the main thrust should be support for the peace process.

Support for the peace process, a succession of speeches, both pious and passionate, condemning violence. The most outspoken, not surprisingly, was by the Israeli prime minister, Shimon Peres, fighting for political survival in the aftermath of the suicide bombings, and in the shadow of a general election on May 29.

"Terrorism knows no borders, so borders must not restrain action to smash terrorism," he said. "This terrorism is not an animal. It has a name. It has an address. It has a bank account. It has an infrastructure. It has a network camouflaged as clarity organisations. It is spear-headed by a country, Iran."

"The Iranian people are not our enemy. Religion is not our foe. It is the regime which initiates, promotes and exports violence and fanaticism. Tehran has become the capital of terror. A conclusion must be drawn on how to contain it."

President Arafat, looking gaunt and grim, promised to confront terrorism "and uproot it from our land." But he lashed out at Israel's tactics since the suicide bombings, accusing it of reoccupying Palestinian lands.

"This blockade and collective punishment are exhausting us. Its continuation pre-qualified a fertile ground to extremists and violence. Collective punishment has never been the proper tool to provide peace and stability," he said.

There followed speeches by others less intimately acquainted with the region. Presidents Boris Yeltsin of Russia and Jacques Chirac of France, Chancellor Kohl of Germany, Felipe González, the outgoing prime minister of Spain, among them.

The king of Morocco and the Emir of Qatar spoke, along with representatives of all the Gulf states. John Major suggested that national leaders should show the door to people who "abuse the hospitality and protection" of countries offering them asylum.

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President Clinton looks on as President Mubarak retrieves his papers at the peace summit. PHOTOGRAPH: PETER DEJONG

Hizbullah blasts posts in Lebanon

Hattam Haddadin in Iqim al-Toufah

THE south Lebanon highlands echoed to the blast of battle yesterday as Hizbullah guerrillas and Israeli troops clashed in an offensive to coincide with the summit.

The Hizbullah (Party of God) fighters showed mortar bombs, anti-tank rockets and machine-gun fire on Israeli posts on the edge of the south Lebanon occupation zone.

All along the front, Hizbullah attacked Israeli and pro-Israeli militia positions in an offensive to coincide with the summit.

Two Hizbullah guerrillas were killed in retaliatory Israeli bombardment of Hizbullah posts, the group said in a statement. There was no immediate report of Israeli casualties.

Leading a rare media trip to the front, Hizbullah milit-

ants guided journalists along narrow, rutted roads through bushes where guerrillas were dug in, facing Israeli positions in the hills opposite.

"We are ready for anything to liberate our land," said a Hizbullah spokesman, a shoulder-held SAM-7 surface-to-air missile in a sandbagged foxhole said.

The attack seen by reporters was the 19th against Israeli positions. "At the very moment when the summit is being held our fighters are carrying out marvellous attacks, our struggles are hitting the enemy posts, the posts of the Israeli enemy occupying our land," a camouflaged guerrilla said.

Under the barrage, guerrilla units engaged in close-range fighting with Israeli troops in two outposts. Minutes later Israeli planes flew over and artillery barrages landed near two villages in the Iqim al-Toufah mountains. — Reuters.

Security tight as Clinton arrives in Israel to initial defence pact

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton flew into Tel Aviv last night on his latest mission to reinforce the US-Israeli alliance.

Today he is expected to initial a new defence pact offering Israel intelligence information, equipment and funds. Already, the US is Israel's staunchest ally, supplying more than \$3,000 million (\$2,000 million) of military and economic aid a year.

President Clinton has moved swiftly to Israel's aid after the Islamist suicide bombings which killed 82 people. He has authorised the handover of bomb detection equipment worth some \$40 million and yesterday, at the Egyptian peace summit, he defended Israel's blockade of the Palestinian territories.

Although the Palestinians saw the blockade as collective punishment, he said, Israel viewed it as "elementary security".

"Collective punishment has never been the proper tool to provide security and stability," Yasser Arafat, Palestinian president

"Tehran has become the capital of terror. . . . Terrorism knows no borders; so borders must not restrain action to smash the terrorist snake." Shimon Peres, Israeli prime minister

"Our dignity and our pride is in those corpses which are ripped apart like exploding bombs throughout our land, and we will continue on this road." Moustapha Liddawi of Hamas in Beirut

his first meeting with the opposition leader, Benjamin Netanyahu. The presidential visit has already brought chaos to the streets of Jerusalem, some of which have been closed and many of which are heavily guarded by police and troops.

The visit has not been without controversy. President Ezer Weizmann boycotted the arrival ceremony at Ben-Gurion airport, complaining that it should have been held at his official residence in Jerusalem.

President Clinton did go to the presidential residence last night but, at the insistence of the White House, there was no ceremony. Israel claims Jerusalem as its eternal capital but the US, in a rare concession to the principle of even-handedness, does not recognise the claim. The issue is high on the agenda of talks, due in May, between Israel and the Palestinians on a permanent peace treaty.

Nigerians rush to compete in poll 'charade'

Chris McGreal in Lagos

EVEN some of those competing in Nigeria's first elections since General Sani Abacha seized power in November 1993 and plunged the country into political crisis think they are little better than a charade. Yet for all the shortcomings of Saturday's local council ballot, there is no shortage of candidates.

The elections are the first concrete step on Gen Abacha's path to civilian rule, launched last October. With Washington threatening new sanctions over the military's repressive rule, the regime hopes to persuade international opinion that it is serious about democratisation.

Few Nigerians are convinced. Political parties have been banned from competing, candidates were given just five days to campaign and voters will vote by lining up behind their favoured candidate in public. Voters will only be choosing delegates to elect who sit on the local councils, a system critics say is wide open to corruption.

And after all that, the councils will only sit for six months before the government plans party-political local elections. As opposition parties debated an organised boycott, Gen Abacha decreed up to five years in prison for those who "undermine" the elections. On Tuesday, a former governor of Kano state was arrested under the decree.

To the regime's opponents it has a familiar ring. For nine years, Nigeria's previous military leader, General Ibrahim Babangida, also followed an elaborate timetable to civilian rule, beginning with local elections. But he fell at the final hurdle, the June 1993

presidential race, won by Moshood Abacha to the military's dismay. The result was annulled, laying the ground for Gen Abacha's coup.

Retired rear-admiral Ndubuisi Kanu, a leader of the opposition National Democratic Coalition, believes Gen Abacha is repeating the pattern, beginning with Saturday's manipulated local vote as a first step to ensuring the election of a president in 1998 to the military's liking.

"If you want to democratise, begin at the centre," Mr Kanu said. "If you have a problem with your head and you get treatment for your feet, you're wasting your time."

Nigerians may agree but it has not deterred them from rushing to compete in the local elections. Many are suspected of viewing it as a business opportunity. Money plays an important part in brokering deals such as the ones which will be struck after the vote, when the elected delegates will decide who sits on the councils.

Experience leads Nigerians to presume that the military will have its favoured candidates at the grassroots, and that cash will be on hand to ensure their elevation. Delegates may also be in the business of bargaining for contracts from those they put on the council.

There are more serious contenders. Some seek to do the best for their communities. The local councils influence many aspects of daily life, from markets, fertiliser distribution and boreholes, to death rituals.

Opposition candidates such as Ibrahim Mantu, chairman of the People's Democratic Alliance, argue that boycotting the election will give Gen Abacha a blank cheque to impose whom he wishes.

Mugabe targets poor villagers

Andrew Meldrum in Harare reports on the sure winner in this weekend's presidential ballot

HELICOPTERS, motorcades and scores of heavily armed bodyguards have taken President Robert Mugabe's six-week re-election campaign to the most isolated corners of Zimbabwe, overwhelming rural villagers with the trappings of power and heavy-handed security.

Mr Mugabe is virtually assured of another six years in office in Saturday and Sunday's election. But after 16 years in power, the president, aged 72, is campaigning extensively for a good turnout.

One of the two opposition candidates, Reverend Ndabandaba Sithole, withdrew from the race on Tuesday, saying that the government planned to discredit him ahead of the election.

Each Mugabe rally follows a similar pattern, as schoolchildren and women wearing dresses emblazoned with his portrait dance and sing his praises. Numerous speeches are given by local and national officials of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (Zanu-PF). Then Mr Mugabe speaks, praising his party's role in the 1970s war to end Rhodesian rule, attacking white farmers and businessmen, and promising more land to the poor rural blacks.

Stern and austere, he is not a natural campaigner, but the well-organised and funded party machine has produced turnouts at the rallies ranging from a few hundred to several thousand. Mr Mugabe has concentrated on the rural areas because that is where 70 per cent of Zimbabwe's 11 million people live, and

where Zanu-PF can count on the strongest support. The best educated, more sophisticated city-dwellers, exposed to numerous corruption scandals, are more dissatisfied with the government.

While the rallies are designed to promote the view that democracy is alive and well, the political system is very one-sided. Almost nothing was heard from Mr Sithole during the campaign, or from the other opposition candidate, Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

"Zanu-PF has all the money and state resources to campaign," said Margaret Dongo, an independent member of parliament. "The opposition do not have helicopters. They cannot reach the rural areas. I don't know why they are running, they are only giving credibility to Mugabe by making it look like we have a real democracy."

Mrs Dongo won her Harare South seat last year after proving in court that Zanu-PF had rigged the previous election against her. She holds one of only three non-Zanu-PF seats in the 150-seat parliament.

"Democracy is difficult in Zimbabwe," she said. "There is always the element of fear, fear of disappearing, fear of the Central Intelligence Organisation (secret police)."

The presidential campaign has also focused attention on the plainly one-sided nature of the state-controlled press. "These elections are anything but free and fair," said a Zimbabwean journalist and commentator, Iden Wetherell. "The challengers face a propaganda machine — the newspapers and broadcasting — which is controlled by the state and is little more than a megaphone for the incumbent candidate."

Mr Mugabe's campaign had been one of "vulgar, racist generalisations", Mr Wetherell said. "Without a free press he gets away with political demagoguery."

French threaten to isolate Britain in two-tier EU

Paul Webster in Paris

FRANCE increased pressure yesterday to isolate Britain within the European Union unless it falls into line with French and German thinking on political, defence and economic policy.

The French prime minister, Alain Juppé, told delegates at a conference in Paris of European rightwing parties that they should prepare for a two-speed Europe dominated by a restricted inner circle ready to accept German and French leadership.

conference (IGC) later this month to introduce institutional measures to foil obstruction to initiatives by Paris and Bonn.

Mr Juppé was backed by most of the 40 conservative and Christian democratic parties in the European Democratic Union (EDU). An expected public clash with Michael Heseltine, who was scheduled to defend the Conservative Party's view, was avoided because the Deputy Prime Minister did not attend the closing press conference.

Mr Juppé, who later attended a French national assembly debate which produced a broad consensus on the country's IGC policy, did not mention Britain by name

but left no doubt that France was mounting an internal EU offensive to rush London into accepting political, defence and monetary initiatives — or be left behind.

"The European Union of tomorrow will undoubtedly be made up of two distinct levels," Mr Juppé told EDU delegates. "There will be a union made up of the 15 present members and those who want to join. In the centre of this first circle there would be another, much smaller and changeable, composed of a few states around Germany and France — countries ready to go further and faster than the others on subjects like currency and defence."

The broad lines of France's plans for the Turin conference were outlined by the European affairs minister, Michel Barnier, who said that a common foreign and security strategy was urgently needed. But this could only be brought about by changing internal voting structures to avoid immobility in the EU after more countries had joined.

Mr Barnier said voting power in the Council of Ministers had to be changed to take into account the real weight of member states, while the use of qualified majority voting had to be enlarged. The conference would also be asked to cut the number of commissioners to about 10, and to remove the auto-

matic right of big countries to be represented. France wanted an increased role for national parliaments and the appointment of a special representative as the official "face and voice of Europe".

In an implicit reference to Britain, Mr Barnier said IGC decisions would be difficult because of the marked conservatism of some member states. ● Susanna Agnelli, Italy's foreign minister, rejected Britain's minimalist proposals for the IGC yesterday within 24 hours of their publication, writes Stephen Bates in Strasbourg.

Ma Agnelli, whose government will chair the opening of the IGC in Turin in a fortnight, told the European Parliament in Strasbourg that Italy favours an extension of the powers of the Parliament and the European Court, and an extension of majority voting. This contradicts the British and French positions.

MEPs voted yesterday in favour of proposals which would give them a much enhanced role in EU decision-making. Ms Agnelli said: "The work of the Parliament and the European Court of Justice is inadequate as far as the freedom of the citizen is concerned. We have to simplify the way we work, introducing decisions by majority."

News in brief

Pope laid low by fever
The Pope called off his audience for the public yesterday because of a fever, the latest in a series of ailments that have raised concern about the frail 79-year-old pontiff's health. A papal spokesman, Joaquin Navarro, said there was no plan "for now" to move the Pope to a hospital. — AP.

Dog and bone
A specially trained Irish setter saved its asthmatic owner's life in Nashua, New Hampshire, this week by calling the 911 emergency number and barking for help. — Reuters.

Police killed
Leftwing guerrillas killed 11 policemen in a raid on the Colombian town of Chalan. Suicide, authorities said yesterday. — Reuters.

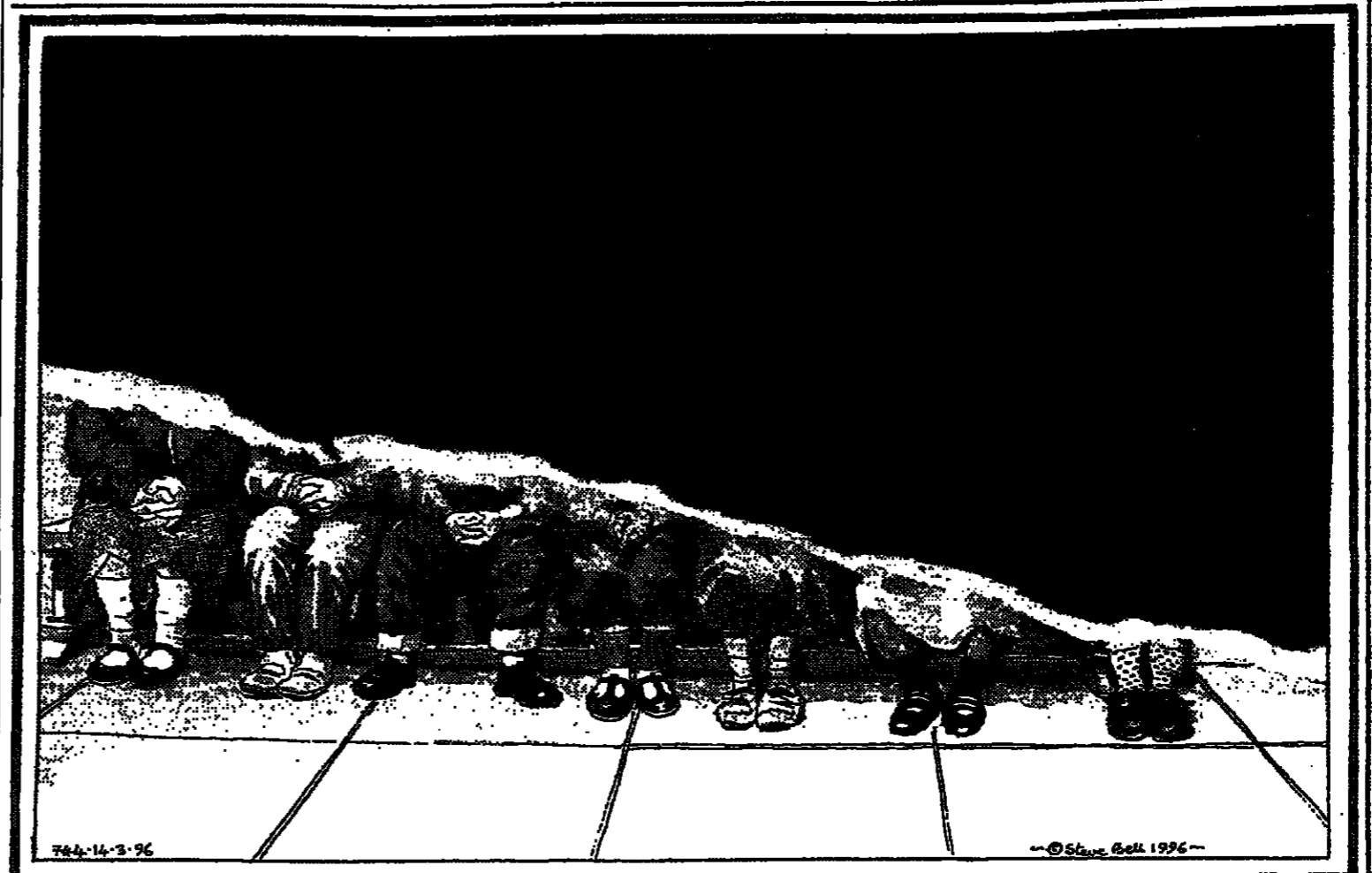
Village attacked
Russian forces launched air strikes yesterday on the Che-

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Murders beyond words
Dunblane's lesson is that guns must be curbed

YESTERDAY was a time for grief. The British are not usually very good at expressing loss. Yesterday they were. The nation united in compassion for the people of Dunblane after Britain's worst massacre. The television cameras caught the horror, confusion and bewilderment of the small community as stricken parents rushed to the Scottish primary school to queue and hear whether their children had been mowed down by the gunman.

years ago for improper behaviour and who was still said to be "unnaturally fond" of young boys. But not even Michael Howard can lock away a man for life on such flimsy suspicions. Contrary to what the Home Secretary likes to assert, predicting human behaviour is a hazardous task. As Dr Robert Runcie, the Archbishop of Canterbury, noted at the memorial service for the Hungerford victims: "The human mind is the most complex and delicately balanced of all created things. Wisdom cannot foresee all the consequences of its sickness. The most that wisdom can do is to shield society from some of the possible consequences of disordered thinking."



Letters to the Editor

Art at the heart of the tax man

IT IS not generally known that, with permissio...

The EU tantrum test

THE issue of the European Court of Justice is not quite as it appears...

Co-decision gives the Parliament the right to negotiate on draft legislation with the Council of Ministers...

The last Straw on terror law

SEUMAS Milne reports that the EU Directive on working time will have much less effect than hoped for...

WE are deeply disturbed by the decision by Jack Straw, MP, made on behalf of the Labour Party...

A victory for common prejudice

But do backers of the PTA know of any terror it has prevented?

SELF-DECEPTION is the bane of the Northern Ireland situation and it will be spread thick on the other side of the Atlantic this week as the Irish diaspora gathers for an election year St Patrick's Day beano in Washington.

unknown to the authorities. Nor was he the first dead IRA volunteer of this kind. Once again the PTA, which is an intelligence gathering permit under an imposing name, failed to do its job.

Right to reply

FURTHER to your feature by Tom Bower (Guardian March 12) on the Gert-Rudolf Flick benefaction, I must make absolutely clear that Balliol College has not been played a prank...



Lost by a hare's breadth

JOHN GARDINER of the British Field Sports Society (Letters, March 12) outrageously claimed that the Joint Nature Conservation Committee's report proved that gamekeepers control the hare population...

Pesky pigeons

SHARE the director of the Civic Trust's concern about the detrimental effects caused by feral pigeons in Trafalgar Square (Letters March 12). Pigeons are a substantial problem, both in terms of the health risk to children and in keeping Westminster clean.

Sentencing that is off the wall

When judges rule on art and graffiti reach for your spray-can

ITEM: Jean-Michel Basquiat spent his youth spray-canning cryptic slogans on the streets of Brooklyn. He is now the subject of an acclaimed retrospective at the Serpentine Gallery in London. ITEM: Simon Sunderland has spray-painted buildings and bridges for a decade.

young offenders' institution, since you ask). Yet the dividing line between art and criminal damage is sometimes too thin to get a paintbrush through. If BR caught David Hockney spraying trains they would jump for joy.

A report from the West Bank

WE ARE three European citizens living in the West Bank town of Ramallah. We condemn the terrorist outrages inflicted upon Israeli citizens but the collective punishment being inflicted upon Palestinians is both unjust and counter-productive.

An explosion

JOHN RYLE (Lyrics to the lads, March 8) writes: "... a case of Housman being hoist on his own petard, or gibbet" (sic). "To be hoist with one's own petard" means to have one's bomb explode in one's hand as one attempted to scale the ramparts with the aid of a hoist.

A Country Diary

HIGHLANDS: This summer will see me compiling an inventory of icehouses in the Highlands for the Archaeological Department of the Highland Regional Council. This has come about not only because of my long interest in these fascinating structures but also because one was demolished without the department's knowledge.

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Diary
Matthew Norman

BARELY a fortnight after young woman was charged £8.50 for keeping her purse in lost property, there is news of another PR triumph for Railtrack when Ealing Council offered to improve a footpath on its land. Railtrack attempted to charge for the privilege. Mr David Weston — "Great Weston", no doubt, to his admirers — answered Ealing's request to make a strip of west London London safer, and to cut the grass, by suggesting the following fees: 1) £75 to allow the contractor on to the land; 2) £22 an hour (plus travelling time) for a supervisor to oversee the work — an odd one, this, with its overtime of role reversal; and, for the coup de grace, 3) £25 an hour (plus travelling time, of course) for "a technical officer... to provide a list of sites to visit". This, Mr Weston hoped, would take no more than 12 hours. Oddly, Ealing refused the offer, and pressurised poor Railtrack into allowing the work to be done without compensation. So, what a company. Sergeant Bilko would be proud of Railtrack.

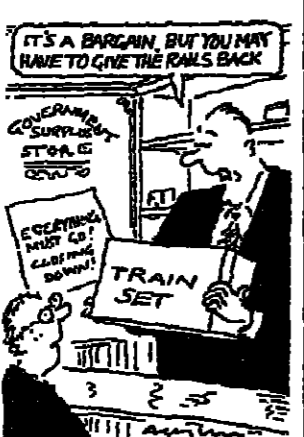
A STRONG contender has emerged in the battle for the title of "Headline of the year". Above the recollections of Ardeshir Cowashee on page nine is the headline "Nityandashivaramakrishna and I".

THE Diary's loyal army of readers have been jamming the Yon, The Jury switchboard all day — and at times of writing, word after word, the case in favour of Peter Hitchens having a beard in the picture. (In it, incidentally, the then International Socialist was addressing the proletariat of York from a soap box in 1972.) It is most important to stress, however, that with the lines open for another six hours, this is no more than the equivalent of an exit poll — and we all know how unreliable they can be. The Daily Express's chief Red Charlie Hunter has made his daily call to the Diary and, although in good spirits, refuses to concede the election, or indeed to abide by its results. "I don't care what you say, The Jury verdict is, says Peter, "I'm in a unique position to know, and it was definitely shadow." The final result and sober reflection upon it will appear tomorrow. Thanks to all who voted.

MEANWHILE, the beard debate has produced a scarcely credible side effect. A freelance journalist inspired by the controversy to write an article about men with beards without moustaches yesterday contacted Dr Raj Persaud, the psychiatrist behind all those memorably thoughtful and well researched personality analyses in the Daily Mail. What, he asked, is the significance of this bizarre facial arrangement. "I'm sorry," said Dr Persaud, having thought for a moment, "but I'm not qualified to comment." Unbelievable — but it's true.

I AM intrigued to receive details of the new complaints procedure at Treliike Hospital in Cornwall. Those complaining in person should be offered a cup of tea, says the guide, while in the case of emotional people, staff are advised to "let the complainant tell you everything without interruption, even when they are repetitive and apologise their need to let off steam". There are many other splendid pointers besides ("Remember not to take this personally — this is your job" is especially helpful). Whether tea and patience will be enough to pacify all complainants seems unlikely given Treliike Hospital's recent form: this includes setting fire to a war veteran's bottom during a spinal operation, having a nurse dismissed for performing an appendectomy, and a baby sent home with a needle in its back.

LATE news from eastern Europe. In the countryside surrounding Grazny, drunken Russian troops have sold a tank and an armoured combat vehicle to Chechen separatist rebels for \$6,000. President Boris Yeltsin is believed not to have been with them at the time.



How about a blind date in November?

Commentary Michael White

WHEN THE Tory Party chairman, Brian Mawhinney, predicted yesterday that John Major would see off both Tony Blair and Jimmy Goldsmith at the coming election, he was doing no more than his job — and doing it in characteristically combative style. Norman Tebbit without the diffident charm. Reality is a bit more complicated. Had mass murder in Dunblane not seized the nation's horrified attention, the day's headlines would have been awash with recrimination over the small print of the cabinet's European white paper and rumours that Kenneth Clarke is prepared to resign from the Government rather than endorse a referendum on the single currency. Never mind that there is little or no supporting evidence for the "Clarke to quit" thesis, though the chancellor's enemies on the Tory Right were whispering that his successor — Peter Lilley or Ian Lang? — was being lined up, just in case he decides not to stick around and vindicate Dr Mawhinney's faith in his financial stewardship. Ever

since Douglas Hurd retired, Clarke has been No 1 target for the Euro-sceptic hitmen and their Fleet Street patrons at the Sun, Telegraph, Times and Mail. On a rival theory yesterday's flutter was freelance retaliation by well-meaning or well-lunched Clarke-ites, saying their man will not be pushed too far. Euro-brinkmanship, Clarke himself repudiated the plot. Of course, Dr Mawhinney is right (even if his figures aren't) to say the Conservatives are never beaten until the votes are counted. But level-headed Tory MPs who assumed the election could be staged off until April 10 or May 1 next year are beginning to wonder if they ought to clear their diaries for this November. The Government's position is extremely precarious. Last week the rumour mill had it that, assurances to the contrary notwithstanding, Michael Heseltine will announce his retirement from the Commons (in return for an hereditary viscountcy?) shortly before the election. That is untrue too — at least it is for the time being. But it sours the bubbling pot. Two impounded strands of policy could — when combined with the kind of parliamentary arithmetic Roger Graf deplored in this week's Guardian letters column — destroy Mr Major's hopes of hanging on until next spring. One is Ireland, the other Europe. Both touch upon national sovereignty and the integrity of the state, sensi-

tive nerve ends in the Tory make-up. From the government's standpoint the ideal scenario would see the Northern Ireland parties, Sinn Féin included, if the IRA's peace wing prevails again, constructively embroiled in the all-party talks due to start on June 10 and, touch wood, continue through the election. Armed with its electoral mandate the new government would manage the endgame. Ditto Europe and the inter-governmental conference (IGC) due to open in Turin on March 29. But another false move (Mr Major's initial response to the Mitchell Report on arms-decommissioning is now widely acknowledged as such) could unite disparate forces to bring him down, much as they did to deliver the coup de grace to Jim Callaghan in 1978 when nationalist Fernand's Frank Maguire paid a rare visit to Westminster "to abstain in person". Tony Blair might hesitate to strike the fatal blow over Ireland, steeped in bipartisanship as he is. Over Europe there would be no such inhibition if Mr Major stumbled over the IGC, billed as lasting "between one year and 18 months" with foreign ministers meeting monthly and their sherpas weekly. There is plenty of scope for mischief in that formula, even without its combustible agenda. Full of Euro-buff jargon, QMV, CFSP, subsidiarity, CFP, not to mention human rights and — heaven help us — harmonised animal rights. Last item alone could start a major European

war. When was the last time you heard an unshot bird in France? The white paper's partnership-of-nations rhetoric is firm, though not quite as firm as Malcolm Rifkind's language in the Commons. But the small print of proposed changes is more tentative. As the European Court of Justice's latest ruling on the 48-hour week again underlined "mere events" can also blunder into the minefield. Sceptics — Labour as well as Tory — were grateful for Mr Rifkind's tone this week, but plainly keeping their powder dry to monitor his actions. Though insular parliamentarians tend to forget this, foreigners have their agendas too, as Jacques Santer underlined mid-week on Radio 4's Today. Peace and prosperity in Europe requires more than a free trade area, it requires political integration, he insisted. THERE is also the parallel negotiation over the proposed single currency. A decision as to who qualifies to go ahead is due only in January 1998, but Britain will be pressed long before then to cooperate with preparatory measures, some costing money to boost regional budgets, others restricting the temptation to devalue sterling. Despite Mr Major's specific assurances in December, we may be pressed to rejoin the exchange rate mechanism. To John Redwood, Norman Lamont and their allies it is all inflammatory stuff, much of it overlooked or underplayed in the domestic political drama. The overnight message from Brussels — as John Palmer reported yesterday — is that Mr Major, the "dying patient" as one official put it, has left little room for compromise. Better to wait until after the election (European trust opinion polls more than Dr Mawhinney does) and do a deal with the more

communitaire Blair. That represents a real danger for Blair in the election campaign as it did for Neil Kinnock. Hence Robin Cook's careful Euro-positioning and Malcolm Rifkind's cheerful attempt to paint him as a Brussels spaniel. They are old Edinburgh rivals: it is personal. The cabinet's broadly pro-European majority would like to finesse the negotiation and themselves do a post-election deal with the EU partners. Rifkind himself is fancied by some as Major's successor if he can keep his seat. The stakes are also high for Michael Portillo, who is busy stressing collective cabinet responsibility and defending Clarke, his potential rival, from tea-room gossip about resignation. Perish the thought! If they are lucky, they will hang together and jockey for the leadership when, win or lose, Major finally goes. But Jimmy Goldsmith is no more concerned to protect parliamentary niceties than Roger Graf. He wants a referendum on the big Euro picture — federalism or no — and he wants it soon. Who cares if his Referendum Party candidates accidentally help elect a Blair-Ashdown Euro-ramp. "Jimmy's blind to that," says one chum. In practical terms, though not ethical ones, Goldsmith's negotiating effect is not so different from that of the South York bomber. So is Tony HQ's response: no talks under threat. In other words, they will go halfway to meet him. Hence those MPs wondering if Mr Major will get to next spring with no majority or even risk it, knowing what happened when Jim Callaghan waited in October 1978 for something to turn up and collapsed to a no-confidence motion. So, how about a tightly-managed party conference, a populist Queen's Speech, rapidly followed by a give-away budget and a November election? An imminent date with the voters might not cow Goldsmith. It would certainly subdue the others.

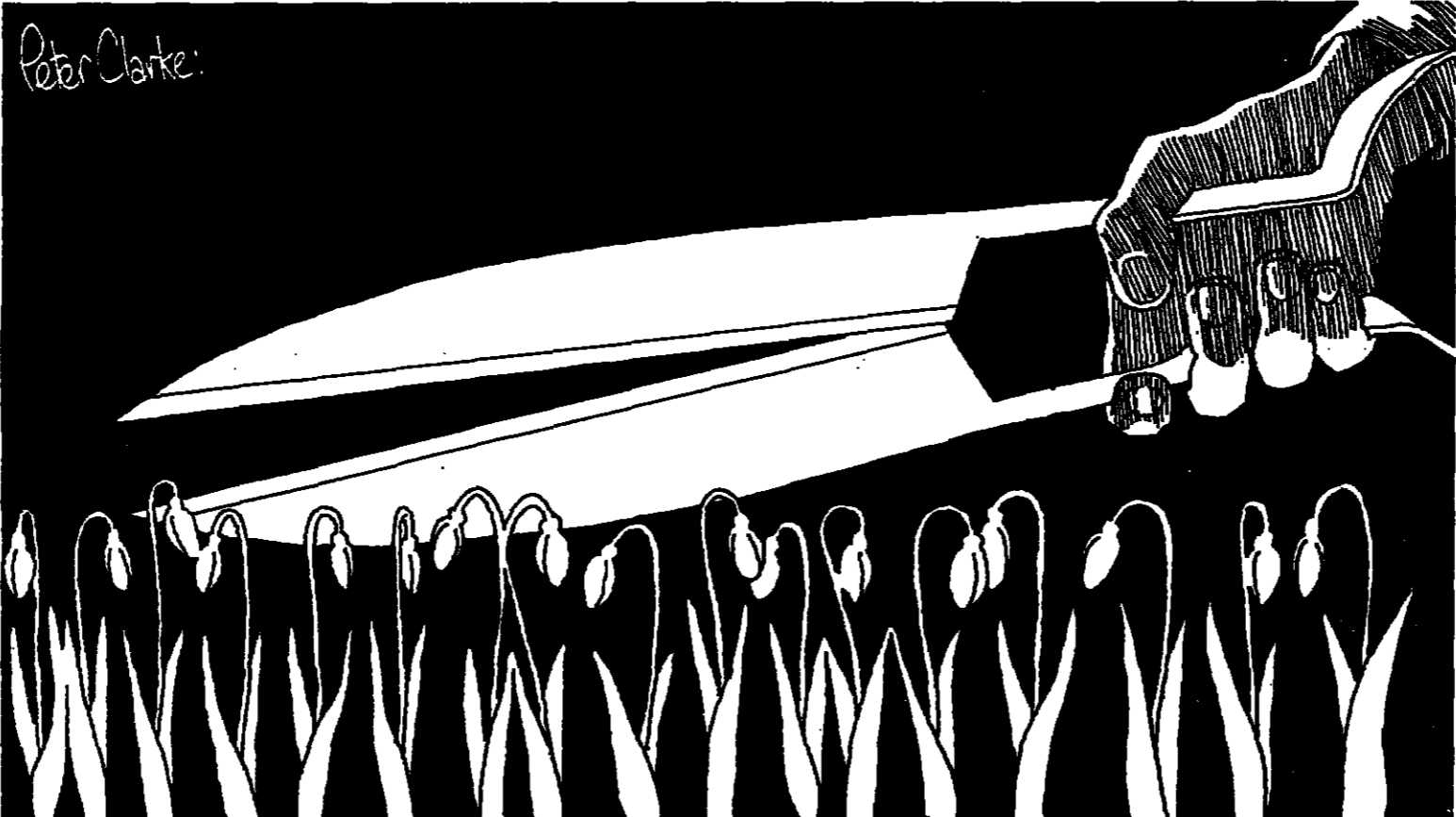
Mad bad and impossible to know

Nigel Eastman

THE Prime Minister perhaps the shootings at Dunblane a mad and evil act. We all want — we all need — to know "who" did this? He must surely have been mad? And yet that would let him off the moral hook. No, he must have been evil. Such questions are puny by comparison with the horror of the event itself. They represent our societal thrashing around to explain the inexplicable, to find some foundation upon which to build the process of grief. They are a search for empathy with the victims' relatives and for humanity itself for harbouring such intentions and acts, and an attempt to re-establish confidence that life is at least partially predictable. Only through explanation can individuals and the community re-establish the sense of relative safety upon which normal living depends. At least the IRA have a "cause" we can blame (though with a touch of "Oh, and they must be at least a little mad"). There is reason and volition behind their acts. They can decide to stop and we might be able to influence their decision to do so. Surviving victims of severe physical or sexual assault almost inevitably take on inappropriate substantial blame. "If only I hadn't left the window open I wouldn't have been raped." The process offers the re-establishing of a measure of control over future safety. A neat retrospective medical diagnosis of the perpetrator of Dunblane might be thought capable of offering partial reassurance. If only we had better mental health care screening or services it might not have happened (and might not happen again)... Perhaps someone was to blame... If not the medicals, then the police... Or the local authority for failing to provide massive and inappropriate security... Aside from the futility of trying definitively to diagnose Hamilton retrospectively, what would a medical diagnosis really offer? Perhaps Hamilton was an odd loner who lived inside his own mind and without the capacity — or perhaps the desire — to have real flesh and blood mutual relationships. Perhaps he was a small insignificant man who needed to "enlarge himself" by fantasising about or obtaining guns and by exerting ultimate power over those (all of us) who he perceived as oppressing him. Perhaps he was an aggressive paedophile who was either sexually excited by the combination of children and violence, or perhaps he chose children because that would exert the greatest power over the oppressive hordes and maybe he exhibited a hatred

of those whom he identified as experiencing the antithesis of his own abused or lost childhood. Perhaps he finally lost completely the gulf between fantasy and action and, in a psychotic state, killed as he had done a thousand times before in his own distorted mind. But this is no ordinary mentally ill patient with an ordinary diagnostic label. Were that to be the case then at least his actions might be explicable as based upon reasoning, albeit mad reasoning. No, even if we discover that he had a long history of schizophrenia (which is very unlikely) that would not offer a basis sufficient to calm or reassure the kingdom. Even the more likely label of "psychopathic personality disorder" would offer little public reassurance. Such a term merely marks the "sufferer" out as developmentally abnormal, in that the quality and strength of his drives and thought processes are distorted towards a mind-set that is statistically and morally abnormal. Whether you term such a man or woman a "mad" or "bad" is dichotomous semantic nonsense. It may be tempting to attach one or the other label, particularly where the crime seems, by its very nature, to suggest rationally incomprehensible madness. If words are needed then those of the prime minister are as good as any, for indeed such a man as Hamilton is both mad and evil.

OUR minds are blown by such actions as were perpetrated at Dunblane and we seek to re-establish our own sanity, or at least security, by deciding that Hamilton's mind was blown. But, even if we construct a retrospective psychological understanding of what he did which seems to explain things in his terms, ultimately his actions must be seen as equivalent to an act of God, or rather an act of the Devil. It almost certainly could not have been predicted. How can you predict from the probably intensely private machinations of such a mind? And no amount of social running around making futile calls for inquiries or greater funding for school security will assist us in our grief. Whether or not we indeed his disordered intention, Thomas Hamilton exerted perhaps the greatest power over the rest of us that was possible. He multiply killed small children and then even deprived us of any opportunity to explain or punish what he did. In killing himself perhaps he finally exerted control over himself. We could have had no such control ourselves. Dr Nigel Eastman is head of forensic psychiatry at St George's Hospital Medical School, London



Many questions, no answers

Hugo Young argues that however well-meaning, honest and decent are the responses of our leaders, they are powerless in the aftermath of massacre

PUBLIC persons do their best. The minister, haggard, takes the first plane to Scotland. The shadow minister, dumbfounded, follows him: in his case private and public worlds fused by the memory that these could have been his kids, a few years ago. The Queen is deeply shocked. The Prime Minister, stopping over in Cairo, produces some banalities of shock-speak for the benefit of Dunblane. There is a statement in the House. The public world mobilises all it has to offer against the vileness without precedent that has occurred. We need all this to happen. The massacre is not only the slaughter of the innocents but a betrayal of what public men are supposed to be about, which is, at minimum, the protection of life. Politicians are the representatives of us, the survivors, and we need their explanations. It is the ultimate test of their eloquence, and they inevitably fail it. We have to make do with little stammerings and care-worn brows — which are better than nothing, but illuminate the impossibly disturbing truth that some public catastrophes are out of public reach. Public language

deals in causes and solutions. Within a couple of hours, long before anyone could even describe what had happened, the BBC was canvassing opinion on what lessons should be learned and what should now be done. Officials and professionals were lured, in all sincerity, to respond. To do otherwise would have been to abdicate from the only discourse they can comprehend: an abandonment, they may have thought, of their public duty. Thus, we learned immediately about the weaknesses of school security. Reports by so-and-so, proposals by such-and-such, in the pipeline or mouldering on the shelf, addressed helpfully to the problem. Talk of entry-phones, or random satchel-checks, or a better quality of berbed wire: the sound of multiple gates slamming after the maniac got in. A union leader touched on the government cuts that prevented such expedients being adopted. Tasteless you might think, even toying in its insensitivity. But he was responding in the only way he knew how. And after all, in Chicago, teachers start class only after the steel door closes. Then what about gun control? How did this mad killer

get hold of his weapons? Why isn't there a law? Is Scotland worse than England as a den of gunmen, crazy or otherwise? Will the minister look into this, with all deliberate speed? Again it's an understandable reflex. It's what law-makers exist for. If not them, who? It is surely their responsibility to begin groping for answers right away, or else forfeit the purpose for which they specially exist. As if by uncontrollable instinct, phalanxes of experts seek to impose order on chaos: an order, however, which in the case of a gymnasium full of children apparently derives from explanations that are the opposite of what's happened elsewhere. Whereas, after the assassination of John F. Kennedy, the public appetite was for a single killer, unconnected to the menace of conspiracy, this event prompts a desire for any reckoning except the one. Only by finding some other, explicable, pragmatic cause, rooted in society and therefore somehow rectifiable, it can the public man begin to promise that the crime won't happen again. NOT FAR beyond these reasonings, therefore, will come an accusation: from some voice or other concerning the broader condition of society. The social alibi of deprivation/unemployment/neglect might be one escape from the horror of confronting a wickedness no one can control. Likewise, the inadequacies of so-called care in the commu-

nians and their proxies cannot bear to face: that there are situations in which everything they say and promise is self-delusion. If religion counted for more than it does in our society, perhaps the utilitarian delusion would be less prevalent. Christianity, paradoxically, has always come to terms more easily than the secular world with the fact of human wickedness. Liberated from the politician's need to find solutions, the preacher, when he counted for more than he does now, might satisfy the people's need for explanations with a transcendent appeal to the mystery of existence and the power of the Devil. It might not define the statute that needed to be rushed through. But in its time it was a way of coming to terms with the incomprehensible. We cannot seem to do that now. Even insanity has to be not only understood but reasoned against. Many of these responses cannot be objected to. Clearly schools need an adequate level of security. Clearly every member of society, not just headteachers, will be safer if lethal knives are not carried round the streets. Plainly, gun-sales need tight investigation. And just as plainly, when a tragedy like this occurs, we require our leaders to perform the rituals of commiseration and regret. If they failed to do so, the nation would be shocked. But if they sound thin, vainly swatting at the collapse of the ordered world, it is because that is exactly what has happened and they cannot face it. Nor, perhaps, can we. When is tiny children and a teacher are murdered one morning there simply must be some consolation to be found in the lessons this holocaust teaches. The true response, the only one that measures up, is to see that it teaches nothing. We have to stand, mute and mystified, before the enormity of a crime there is no way to stop happening again.

"Help me find my mummy. Please."

Will you help reunite a Rwandan child with their family? As massacres in Rwanda become distant memories for us in Britain, thousands of children still live with the disastrous effects. Like Bibia, whose hand slipped her mother's grip as she was carried along in a huge crowd of refugees. That was a year ago — Bibia hasn't seen her mother since. Today around 150 children like Bibia wait in Feal the Children's Centre in Butare and hundreds of others wait around the country for news of their families. Just £30 from you today could help us find a child's family and reunite them — please do what you can to help keep hope alive for Bibia and children like her.

I want to reunite a family. Here's my gift to help. Call 0990 60610 now with your donation. OR please complete and return this form. I enclose my donation of: £30 £60 £100 £250 £ (other) Please make your cheque payable to Feed the Children OR Please debit £ from my Visa Access Switch Card number Last three digits of Switch card no. Switch issue no. Expiry date Signature Name (caps) Address Postcode Telephone Please send your donation to: Feed the Children (Europe), Dept 449, FREEPOST, Reading, RG1 1BR. Regional charity no. 803234

10 OBITUARIES

Krzysztof Kieslowski

Human touch of a master

THE untimely death of the outstanding Polish director Krzysztof Kieslowski, aged 54, has dealt a huge blow to European cinema.

after working flat out on projects for six years, that he should rest. He called it "retirement" but most people knew it wasn't permanent.

Like Wajda and Polanski, he was an international figure who transcended his nationality

Those who knew his work from the beginning could easily detect an outstanding talent. His films had a very human tone, the mastery of style and the ability to put something on the screen that had an emotional and dramatic force of exceptional power.

These ten films, of less than an hour each, were filmed in the same suburb of Warsaw and with many of the same characters in each story.

ered a contemporary European master it was Kieslowski and the Dekalog in particular remains one of the great saving graces of the European cinema over the last disappointing decade.

I well remember being on a jury that was hopelessly divided as to the merits of the longer version of A Short Film About Killing.

who summoned him. He admired Loach's work greatly saying that very few directors had the capacity to make people laugh and cry within the space of a single sequence.

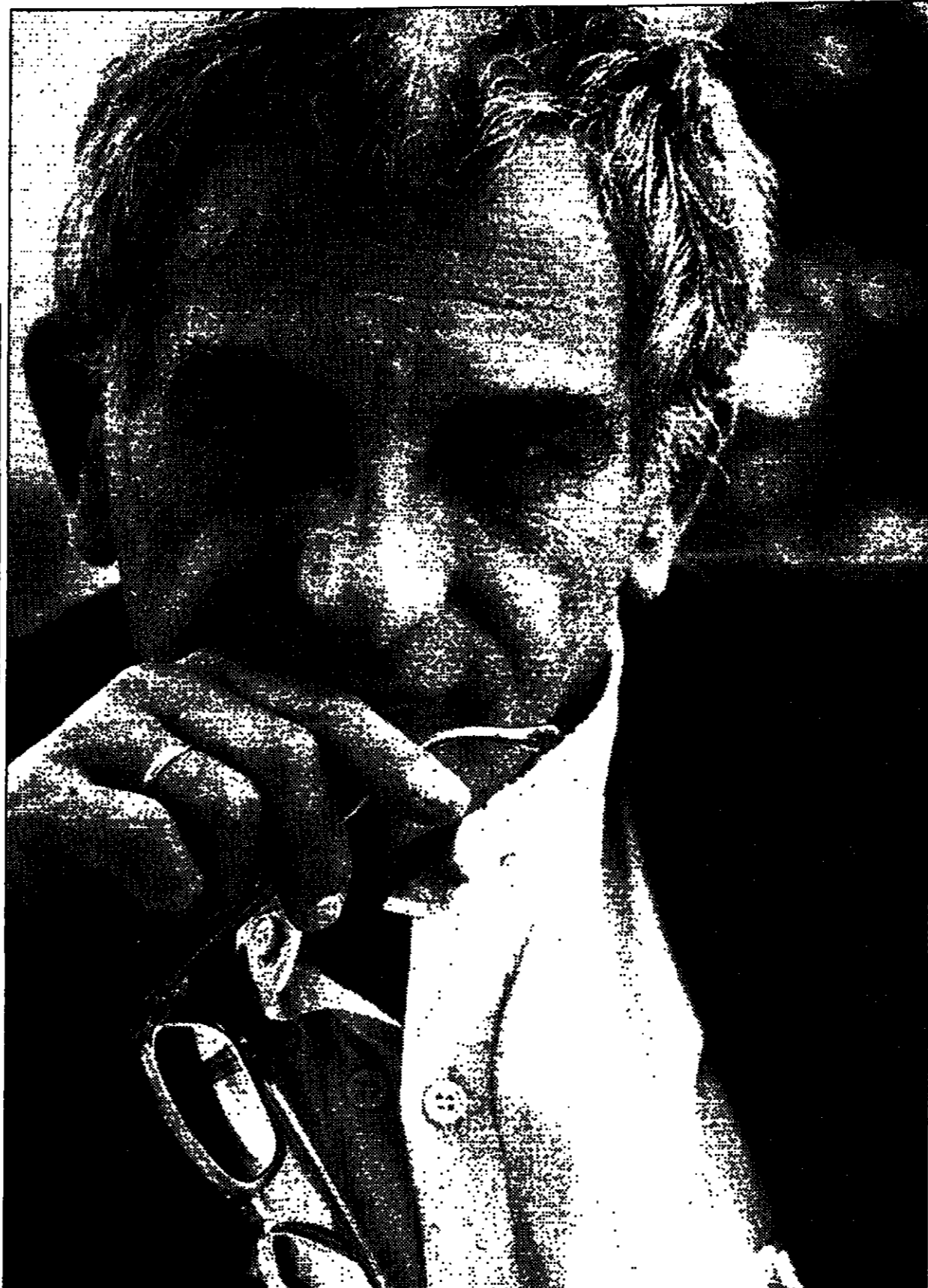
He hated the ponderously short-sighted Polish communist regime and delighted in circumventing their strictures.

The best thing that can be said about an artist of the stature of Kieslowski was that his espousal of a highly individual, very personal cinema gave a great many film makers renewed hope and sprang directly from the work of other European masters now lost to us.

Derek Malcolm

Andi Engel, of Artificial Eye, writes: The first film I saw of KK was Personnel. It is a beautifully simple film about the first day at work of a young man in a provincial opera house in the costume department.

The first time I saw KK was at the Kuruzsmasok's Mid-night Sun Festival, north of the Arctic circle. He was dancing the tango with his daughter and did not talk to us.



Kieslowski... "One of the few European directors capable of measuring up to the giants of the past"

talked. One of the things we talked about was how awkward it was to give the characters in a film names.

But the crucial discussion was about the concept of fate and coincidence where I wrongly thought that he believed life was governed by coincidence.

Recently he gave a summer school in Amsterdam for young directors and actors. I asked if he would mind if I attended as an onlooker.

He looked at me and said: "Don't come. There is nothing for you to learn."

In the end, I fear he was desperate. Poland made him and Poland broke his heart.

Danusia Slotk, editor of Kieslowski on Kieslowski, writes: Krzysztof Kieslowski's name immediately conjures a world of film-making craftsmanship.

I sometimes sensed that he didn't always want to admit this to himself - certainly not to the outside world.

To sit on his verandah with his dog called Brat (brother), smoke his cigarettes and finally have time for his passion for Black and Decker tools.

I also remember talking to him about the healing arts. "I don't believe in all that," he would shrug.

intuitive quality. They reveal a spiritual side of a man reputedly deeply grounded in the treadmill of reality.

Another aspect which his films didn't fully reflect was his strong sense of humour, so dry, so observant of man's foibles and life's absurdities.

Krzysztof Kieslowski, film director, born June 27, 1941; died March 13, 1996

Letters

Peter Coates writes: Michael Thornton's admirably comprehensive piece on Evelyn Laye (obituary, February 19) was highly informative.

Julian Holland, a former producer of Radio Newsweek, writes: Please allow me a correction to the excellent recent obituary of Peter Pooley.

Another Day

March 14, 1957: With Val to see play Look Back In Anger by John Osborne, whom I once interviewed on television without being able to get anything out of him.

Birthdays

Fran Ayres, poet, Ian Gilmour, Conservative MP, 49; Michael Caine, actor, 63; Sir Gavin Laird, general secretary, AEU, 63; John McCullum, actor and producer, 78; Lord Marshall, former chairman, British Rail, 68; Tessa Sanderson, javelin thrower, 40; Anthony Smith, president, Magdalen College, Oxford, 58; Rita Tushingham, actress, 54.

Death Notices

READ, Margaret (née Ludwig), widow of Herbert, died at her home, 110, Westwood Grove, Westwood, on Friday, 22nd of March, at 11.30pm. Funeral on Friday, 23rd of March at 11.30am. Burial at 1.30pm. Flowers to J.B. Wilson, Funeral Directors, 103 Margaret High Street, Westwood SE27 8JF.

Acknowledgments

Courtesy thanks to Sam Judo for poster granted. BT to place your announcement telephone 0171 713 4667. Fax 0171 713 4125.

Baroness Faithfull

Tireless campaigner for children's needs

IT IS appropriate that Lucy Faithfull, who has died aged 85, spent her last full day with 24 friends. All of them had been prominent pioneers in child care development over many years - former children's officers, directors of social services, professors of social work and social policy, or leaders in the voluntary sector.



Lucy Faithfull... highly respected by her fellow peers

Lords, and Lucy enjoyed reminiscing with everyone afterwards at the lunch there. However, she emphasised to everyone the importance of planning for the future and not being tied to the past.

She trained many child care officers who later achieved very senior positions in other departments. She was tough, but loved and respected by her staff. There are hundreds of children who benefitted from the high standards she demanded. She knew many of the children personally and continued to see them and their families. Committed to training her staff, her methods were not always conventional. She had been great friends with Donald and Claire Winnicott, the eminent psychiatrist and psychotherapist, since her days as an evacuation officer, and often invited them to her home along with some of her staff to hear their words of wisdom about treating disturbed children.

case in child care and family case work. From 1932 to 1935 she was a social worker and sub-warden at the Birmingham Settlement. She was an organiser for the LCC Care Committee and during the war an evacuation officer with the Ministry of Health - where she learned much about the trauma for children of being sent away from home.

She trained many child care officers who later achieved very senior positions in other departments. She was tough, but loved and respected by her staff. There are hundreds of children who benefitted from the high standards she demanded. She knew many of the children personally and continued to see them and their families. Committed to training her staff, her methods were not always conventional. She had been great friends with Donald and Claire Winnicott, the eminent psychiatrist and psychotherapist, since her days as an evacuation officer, and often invited them to her home along with some of her staff to hear their words of wisdom about treating disturbed children.

Lucy Faithfull had a mind of her own and continually stood up for her beliefs rather than for dogma. "I became a damned nuisance to them," she once told me, "but they soon realised I was no push-over." She constantly took up issues on behalf of her social work colleagues and often won the day.

When asked to become a life peer she warned Mrs Thatcher that she might vote against the Government

led a life that was crammed full of wonderful work for children she always wanted to do more. While I was at the hospital the doctor said to her: "You son can come in now," she replied: "He's not my son, he's my partner."

John Rea Price, director, National Children's Bureau, writes: Lucy Faithfull was one of a small band of remarkable women who fought for the cause of children throughout the 1930s and the second world war. Post-war, it was through their efforts that the Children Act 1948 became a significant part of the welfare state.

Simon Rodway

Baroness Faithfull, Lucy Faithfull, children's campaigner, born December 26, 1910; died March 13, 1996

MUSICIANS BENEVOLENT FUND. THE MUSICIANS BENEVOLENT FUND CAN DO SO MUCH TO HELP NEEDY MUSICIANS AND THEIR DEPENDANTS - FOR WHOM APPLAUSE IS A DISTANT MEMORY. SO REMEMBER THE JOY THAT MUSIC HAS BROUGHT YOU. PLEASE SEND US A DONATION AND CONSIDER REMEMBERING US IN YOUR WILL. APPLAUSE? I WOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE A COPY OF YOUR LEGACY LEAFLET. I ENCLOSE £10 £20 £30 OTHER. NAME. ADDRESS. POSTCODE. TO MUSICIANS BENEVOLENT FUND, 16 OGLE STREET, LONDON W1P 8JB. REG. CHARITY NO. 228089.

Vertical advertisements on the right margin including 'GEO Wein' and 'Gradu'.



COMMENT

'Capital cost is the only meaningful number for shareholders, because it shows the ultimate cost of the enhanced pension. There is no reason why the pension income should not be disclosed as well'

The painful pension facts must be made public

Memo to the chief executive from the finance director: "This year for the first time we are going to have to include in the annual report some meaningful information about your pension. I know this is embarrassing but it cannot be helped - new transparency and all that. So what would you prefer? Either we can report the extra pension you will be entitled to draw after you are 60, or we can report the capital cost to the pension fund of financing that increase. You should of course be aware that after your 75 per cent salary rise last year the first method will show extra benefits worth £150,000 a year when you are 60. The second method will show an additional capital value for your pension of nearly £2m as a result of your pay increase. The public relations department takes the view that whichever disclosure you make, the press will leap on it. But while the first figure will be reported in the business pages of broadsheet newspapers, the second is likely to get you two minutes on News at Ten."

The CBI, the Institute of Directors and Sir Richard Greenbury himself have all plumped for the low-key disclosure of changes in pension income. Their principle opponent, an organisation not without clout, is the National Association of Pension Funds, which says that it is a fundamental principle that the capital value of a pension earned during the year should be disclosed. The actuaries have had such difficulty finding a compromise that suits everyone that they may decide to leave the final choice of method to the Stock Exchange and the Department of Trade and Industry, which asked them to look at the matter in the first place. This would be a cop out. Disclosure of capital values is plainly the way forward. The NAPF is right to say the capital cost is the only meaningful number for shareholders, because it shows the ultimate cost of the enhanced pension. For good measure, there is no reason why the pension income should not be disclosed as well.

Now the two Anglo-Dutch multinationals have other things in common: both have suffered recent PR disasters - Shell at the hands of the North Sea oil storage buoy Brest Spar and Unilever over Persil Power - and both have announced restructurings designed to introduce greater accountability. Nor do the similarities end there. In announcing its reorganisation yesterday Unilever confirmed that it had been assisted in drawing up the plan by McKinsey & Co. the mighty US-based management consultancy that also played a significant role in reducing the management layers at Shell. The consumer goods giant apparently turned down the approach McKinsey had already sold to Shell of basing the management of the company around products. Instead it has opted in favour of a division along regional lines.

every initiative approved by a plethora of committees. As plenty of management consultants besides McKinsey will be happy to tell either company, the world may be getting smaller but it remains highly fragmented. The concept of "global, local" corporations might be overdue. But Unilever seems to have belatedly realised that it cannot assume that a brand of soap or margarine that sells in Scunthorpe will win the same favour in Sao Paulo.

ment claimant count last month after 29 successive falls was more grim to their mill. But the weight of money is against these scribbles.

This is not just because the financial markets are packed with inflation hawks who think Eddie George has let the side down by accepting the recent flurry of rate cuts. The indicators of economic weakness, mainly in manufacturing, grab the headlines, but there are other indicators of buoyancy. The minutes of the monthly meeting between the Chancellor and Governor disingenuously suggest that it is only the money supply that is flashing amber, while everything else has been green for go on reductions in base rates. This does not address a whole range of other forward-looking economic indicators such as share prices, land values and house prices. Nor does it comfort monetarists like Professor Tim Congdon, a Treasury "wise man", whose recent forecast says double-digit monetary growth could take the inflation rate back towards 10 per cent.

Mr Clarke can't have it both ways

The white-necked, rainbow-jacketed futures traders whose business is to make a profit from guessing the future level of base rates have had news for the Chancellor. They reckon the cost of borrowing has bottomed out and will have to start climbing by the Autumn. Even worse, in a serious thumbs down for the current anti-inflationary strategy, their expectations for inflation and interest rates further down the road have significantly worsened since the latest quarter point reduction in rates. By contrast, the City is awash with post commentators who think the economy is frail and urge Mr Clarke to slice base rates by another point to 5 per cent. Yesterday's news of a small increase in the unemploy-

As Mr Clarke keeps saying, the economy is likely to pick up this year for all sorts of reasons. The market response is that he cannot have it both ways; if consumer spending grows any faster, base rates will not be able to fall any further. All that is needed now to put the byhook on all lingering hope of still cheaper borrowing rates is a sterling crisis. As political uncertainty grows, that's a real risk.

Global corporations, local markets

High profile, pushy executives for ever spouting visions and missions? That may characterise the management style of most companies these days but forget it as far as the Anglo-Dutch giants of Unilever and Shell are concerned. Their style is that of stately progress under mostly faceless officer corps.

GEC close to naming Weinstock's successor

RUSSELL HOTTEN

Speculation was growing last night that defence electronics group General Electric Company was on the verge of finalising a job package to be offered to Lord Weinstock's successor.

Sources said yesterday that a GEC board meeting on Monday would approve the terms of an appointment, but there was no news about whether George Simpson, the frontrunner for the managing director's post, had been formally offered the job.

Lucas, where Mr Simpson has been chief executive for almost a year, publishes its results on Tuesday and company insiders said there were no plans to make an announcement about his future.

Rumours about Mr Simpson's possible departure continue to unsettle the company, and one manager said yesterday: "The feeling around here is that it is not a matter of if he goes, but when."

GEC, which holds quarterly board meetings, has said it would make an announcement in the spring, and that Lord Weinstock would move aside probably by the end of the year.

One manager within the GEC empire, ruled by Lord Weinstock for 33 years, said yesterday: "We are all looking to Monday for some news, or at least some announcement soon afterwards."

He believed that Mr Simpson's appointment was not as certain as some commentators believed, and that Peter Gershon, who runs GEC-Marconi, was still a serious contender.

"Mr Simpson is a car industry man through and through and there are still those who believe he will find the transition to a company like GEC hard despite his experience with British Aerospace," he said.

Mr Simpson's contract expires in April 1997 and the shareholders' annual meeting was told last year that he would see it out. But there has been talk that GEC was negotiating to buy-out the remainder of his contract.

The situation is also complicated by whether Lord Weinstock, 71, intends to stay on at the company in some honorary position, which would inevitably raise questions about his influence over a new chief executive.

Mr Simpson joined the automotive and aerospace engineering group from BAe, where he was deputy chief executive and head of the Rover Cars unit, sold Germany's BMW at the start of 1994.

A Lucas spokesman said: "George Simpson has a contract with Lucas, he is here and we are getting on with running a successful business."

Rumours about his impending move to GEC are said to have leaked out after a senior GEC executive had dinner with



George Simpson: Talk of a move to GEC has hit Lucas

two analysts, and the rumours have circulated in the City ever since.

One former colleague told the Independent yesterday: "Sometimes I believe these rumours are reheated every few weeks to spark a reaction from GEC. I believe George is a honourable man, and if he had said

he is not going, then he will not go."

Nor was he sure that Mr Simpson was right for GEC. "Someone in that job has to be a person who can stomp the corridors of power and operate at the inter-governmental level. I wonder whether George is the man to do that."

Samsung to enter car industry

RUSSELL HOTTEN

Samsung, the giant South Korean organisation, is to enter car manufacturing and intends to open plants in Europe by the turn of the millennium.

The company, the 14th largest in the world according to *Fortune* magazine, announced yesterday that it plans to make 500,000 cars a year at a plant being built in South Korea.

A European headquarters for the new Samsung Motors has been set up in Frankfurt in order to control import activity and also to start looking for suitable sites for manufacturing operations.

A spokeswoman said yesterday that the UK would be considered for a production plant. However, analysts said that a site in low-cost Eastern Europe seemed more likely.

Samsung hopes it can follow the success of its South Korean rivals Hyundai, Kia, and also Daewoo, which last launched its cars in the UK and Europe.

Samsung, whose interests stretch from electronics to



Gearing up: Samsung is looking for manufacturing sites

chemicals and financial services, said it had allocated \$13bn (£8.6bn) to invest in car facilities by the year 2010.

The company last year announced a £450m investment in an electronics plant on Teesside. Samsung also makes cement

mixers and dump trucks at a site in Harrogate.

Kyung-choon Im, chief executive of Samsung Motors, said the company is aiming for a 30 per cent share of the Korean market with the intention of becoming one of the world's top

motor manufacturers by the year 2010.

Car production will begin in 1998 at a plant near Pusan, which will initially manufacture mid-range 1.8 to 2.5 litre saloons. The company claims that it will be able to produce a new model every year by 2010. Exports are forecast to reach around 85 per cent of the total production by the year 2002.

A Samsung design centre in Los Angeles, which recently bought International Automotive Design West Coast, is already working on prototypes.

South Korean car companies have long been tipped as the sleeping giants of the motor industry. Having learned car technology through joint ventures with American and Japanese car companies they are now starting flex their muscles in markets around the world.

Samsung has been working closely with Nissan, which is providing a range of support, including plant construction, product development, and building a sales operation.

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IN BRIEF

Asian boost for air freight

Growth in Asia-Pacific economies will boost demand for freight aircraft well into the 21st century, executives from Boeing and Airbus said at a transport conference. James Edgar, Boeing's regional director for cargo marketing forecast that freight earnings - measured in revenue tonne kilometres (RTKs) - will grow by an average 6.6 per cent a year between now and 2014. "This means that the market will roughly triple over the next 20 years. Not surprisingly, Asian freight markets will lead world growth," he said. This included internal Asian routes as well as links with Europe and North America.

Employers hit by Pensions Act changes

Employers are becoming increasingly concerned at the costs of complying with the 1995 Pensions Act, and one in six has already changed its scheme significantly, and almost one in three is actively considering changes, according to a survey by independent pension scheme administrators Hartshead Solway.

Only 23 per cent of firms claim to be making changes to improve benefits for employees, compared with 39 per cent who say they are complying with the new legislation and 38 per cent who say they are making changes to cut costs. The changes will accelerate the transfer of pension schemes to independent administrators, and the replacement of pensions related to average salaries by schemes based on investing a set percentage of earnings. This could reduce total contributions and also transfer the risks of poor investments reducing pension payments from the employer to the employee.

Spring Ram slumps to £43m loss

Spring Ram, the kitchens and bathrooms group, slumped to a £43m loss last year after heavy restructuring charges, weak demand and rising raw material prices. Chairman Roger Regan plans to sell the loss making Crosby Doors and Stag furniture division this year. He also hinted that he may move to a part-time role once the group had stabilised. Turnover rose 17 per cent to £300m. But exceptional charges amounted to £31m and operational losses hit £10m. The group made profits of £3m in 1994.

3i raises £200m for management bids

3i, the venture capital group, has raised £200m for its second fund which will invest in the UK, larger management buy-outs and buy-ins of more than £10m. A number of international institutional investors from North America, the UK and the Far East will invest up to £100m alongside 3i which has committed £100m of its own capital.

Rosebys profits from Brentford stores

Rosebys, the furnishings and textiles group which bought 90 Brentford stores from Lornho last year, recorded a 40 per cent increase in profits to £4m last year. Sales rose 35 per cent to £69m. Margins have been maintained despite a difficult trading environment. Current trading is also promising with like-for-like sales ahead of last year in the group's 319 stores.

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The 20 titles, listed on this page, range from the period drama of *The House of Eliott* to the black social satire of *Tom Sharpe's The Throwback*. The books are read by the authors or actors including Patricia Hodge, Geraldine McEwan, Derek Jacobi and Brad Pitt.

The epic cinema version of *Restoration* has been attacked by Rose Tremain for talking too great a licence in adapting her acclaimed novel. Judge then for yourself with Derek Jacobi's reading of Tremain's richly detailed historical epic set in the court of Charles II.

Arguably the creme de la creme of Muriel Spark's writing, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* is the celebrated tale of a teacher, her select group of girls, idealism, disenchantment and betrayal set in the politically charged Britain of the Thirties.

Set during the American Civil War, Bernard Cornwell's action adventure, *The Bloody*

Ground, tells the story of Nate Starbuck who is given the shameful command of the yellowlegs Battalion - a motley collection of cowards, convicts and malingers. They are flung into battle against the Union forces at Sharpsburg. But not all Starbuck's enemies are damn Yankees. This fast-paced yarn is read by David Rintoul.

When ordering, please allow 28 days for delivery on receipt of your order. The offer closes 29 April 1996 and is subject to availability. Photocopies of tokens are not acceptable. If you have any queries, please call the HarperCollins Audio Books Helpline on 01442 824141.

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- James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, read by David Rintoul
- Elizabeth Smart, *By Grand Central Station I Sat Down and Wept*, read by Diana Quirk
- Ellis Peters, *The Rose Rent*, read by Derek Jacobi
- Joan Marsh, *The House of Eliott*, read by the author
- Muriel Spark, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, read by Geraldine McEwan
- Bernard Cornwell, *The Bloody Ground*, read by David Rintoul
- Joanna Trollope, *A Spanish Lover*, read by Patricia Hodge
- Neil Anderson, *The 31st Street Street Zero*, read by Gillian Anderson

Breakthrough in fight against Alzheimer's

CHARLES ARTHUR
Science Correspondent

New research into Alzheimer's disease may offer possible methods of preventing the degenerative brain disorder from developing.

The work suggests that neurons in the brain are killed off when blood vessels constrict due to the presence of highly reactive "free radical" molecules in the blood.

But the finding has also pointed up a weakness in Britain's science base. A key part of the research was carried out by Mike Mullan, a British scientist now working at the University of South Florida in the US. In 1991 he was one of a six-strong team based at St Mary's Hospital, London, who made a breakthrough by identifying a genetic link for Alzheimer's. However, that team has dissolved, with three of the scientists emigrating to the US and another to France. Only one of the original group is now left at the hospital.

The latest findings, published today in the scientific journal *Nature*, are based around the effects of an insoluble protein called B-amyloid, which is found in the blood and particularly as deposits in the brains of people suffering from Alzheimer's. B-amyloid appears to react

with cells in the walls of blood vessels in the brain to create "free radical" oxygen molecules. These are oxygen molecules that have lost an electron in a biochemical reaction and so are highly reactive. The free radicals appear to prompt the constriction of blood vessels which serve the neurons in the brain - leading, suggest the researchers, to the neurons' eventual dysfunction and death.

This leads them to suggest that Alzheimer's might be prevented - though not cured - by the provision of so-called "antioxidants", which are enzymes, and other chemicals which effectively neutralise free radicals by "mopping them up".

Other scientists gave a cautious welcome to the work. Jonathan Stamler, of Duke University Medical Centre in the US, said the work still had to be confirmed in humans: the latest work was only carried out on rats. He also queried the short timescale over which the free radicals affect blood vessels, compared with the decades over which Alzheimer's seems to take effect.

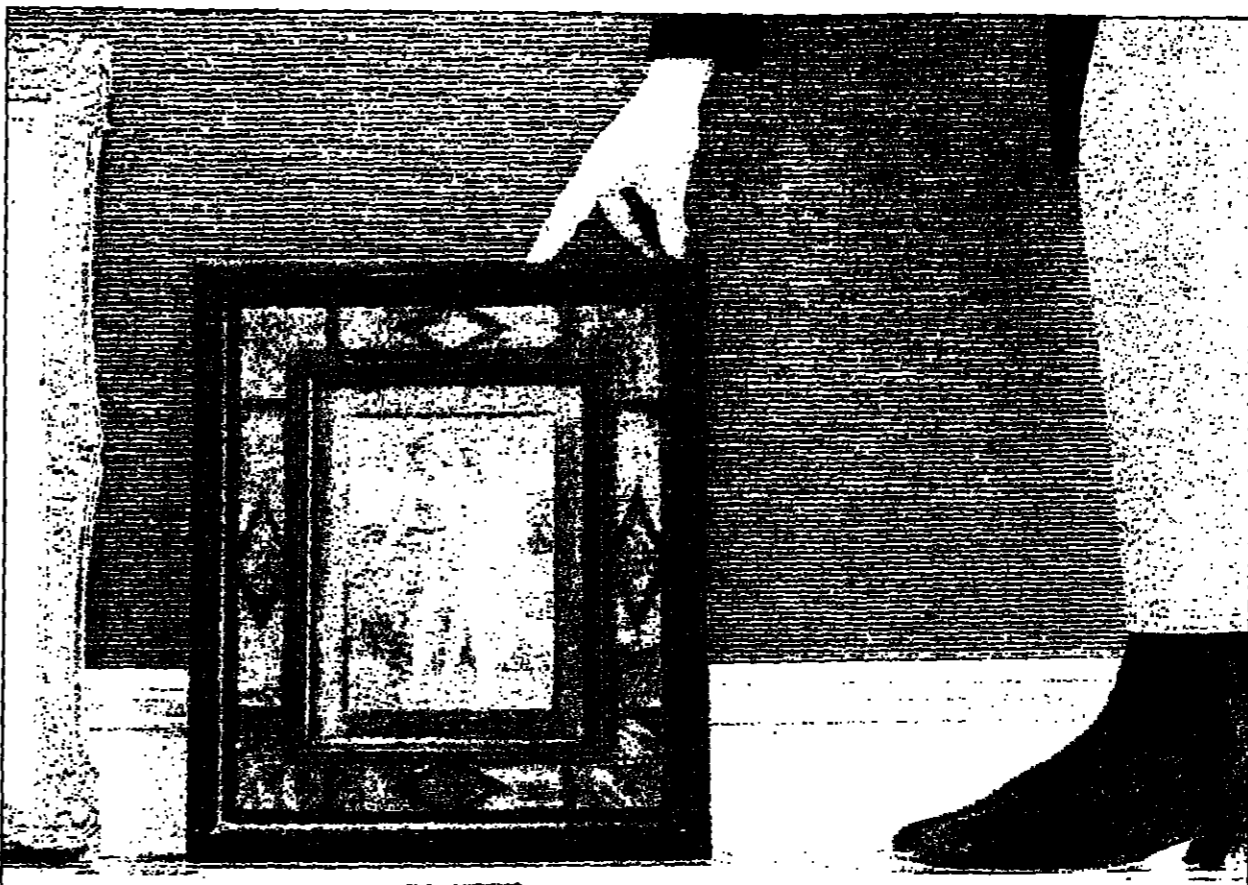
Simon Lovestone, of the Institute of Psychiatry in London, said "The idea that free radicals were a factor remained unproven for years. This is very interesting." Professor Mullan said yesterday: "The problem is

to find an experimental means of testing our ideas fully. But it does open up new ways to deal with Alzheimer's."

He did not regret emigrating to the US. "After our work in 1991, the team was looking for more resources. The British offers might have meant we could have achieved the same, but it would have taken longer. I'm not sure it would have happened."

John Mulvey, of the pressure group Save British Science, commented that many researchers were put off by the facilities in Britain: "The economy loses a competitive edge by not being able to keep its most promising talent, he said.

Brain scans, Section Two



State of the art: A watercolour whose value was not recognised until its owner took it to BBC TV's *Antiques Roadshow* was sold at Bonhams yesterday for £62,000. *In the First Garden*, by George Richmond, dates from 1828. Photograph: Nicholas Turpin

CSA adds to its list of failings

GLENDIA COOPER

Breaches of confidentiality, confusion and delays in paying parents have been added to the "shortcomings" of the Child Support Agency, the parliamentary ombudsman said yesterday.

In a damning report, William Reid said that the promises made by the CSA last year to clean up its act had not been fulfilled and new mistakes had been added. One-third of the complaints he receives across all government departments concern the CSA, he added. By the end of 1995 he had received complaints from 270 MPs and investigated 195.

"Shortcomings in certain aspects of the CSA's work of which I was critical in my January 1995 report continue to occur," Mr Reid said.

He once again urged the CSA to appoint an independent complaints adjudicator, warned them against cutting staff and said he was discussing further issues with the Department of Social Security.

£86m opera house bid ends on sour note

JOHN MCKIE

Supporters of the failed plan for an opera house in Cardiff yesterday rounded on the man they blame for its demise.

Russell Goodway had, as leader of South Glamorgan and Cardiff City Council, successfully lobbied for lottery funds to go to the redevelopment of Cardiff Arms Park for Wales's 1999 hosting of the Rugby World Cup. But as leader of the city's new joint local authority he has effectively shut the door on a cultural centre for the city. At Friday's meeting between opera house trustees and the local authority, he said that he saw no need for a major arts centre.

Plans for the £86m building, drawn up by the architect Zaha Hadid, had received local authority funding for the past five years, but under the new merged authority, will not receive a penny.

More than £2m has already been spent on plans for the building, which was to have housed an opera house, theatre and museum. The modernist design will now be jettisoned after objections from Cardiff Bay Development Corporation and the local authority.

Mr Goodway denied he was opposed to an arts centre, saying: "I'm all in favour of a performance centre, but an opera house would not generate sufficient public support which the Millennium Commission would need to justify the application. The local authority always supported the rugby stadium, but this arts centre has to demonstrate public support."

Comment, page 15

Lib Dems want more scrutiny of Brussels

PATRICIA WYNN DAVIES
Political Correspondent

Joint committees of MPs and MEPs should scrutinise the decisions of Brussels bureaucrats, the Liberal Democrats say in a policy paper due for approval at their spring conference at the weekend. The House of Commons should also be given the right to veto government nominations for the European Commission, the paper says.

The proposals, launched yesterday by Paddy Ashdown, the Liberal Democrat leader, are among a clutch of reforms called for in the run-up to the Inter-Governmental Conference. In common with some Conservatives, the party urges that if the conference agrees to a new constitutional settlement within the EU states, then the British people should be allowed to signify their approval of the changes in a referendum.

While the Liberal Democrats remain the most pro-European of the main parties, the paper adopts a "Euro-realist" tone, attacking EU decision-making as "unnecessarily secretive and largely unaccountable".

The party backs more qualified majority voting in an enlarged union. But where legislative decisions are made by the Council of Ministers these should be open and government ministers subjected to greater scrutiny through the Commons select committee system.

On the single currency, the paper says: "The world currency markets would force Britain to follow whatever economic policies were operating within the single currency area or suffer devaluation."

DAILY POEM

The Herring Girls

By Iain Crichton Smith

The herring girls,
where did they go to
with their necklaces of salt?
They would come home with presents,
small yellow rings,
sweets,
dresses of water.

Where did they go
with their long skirts,
they who never had a rose
or shadow of poetry;
were they drowned in time
sinking deeper and deeper
ill nothing was seen
but their wet rings?

Iain Crichton Smith was born in Glasgow in 1928 but was taken as a small child to live on the island of Lewis, where he remained until 1945. He has been concerned ever since with the vulnerability of the Gaelic language and culture, a theme which is paralleled in the struggle of the individual against the deadening impulses of repressive religion, high-handed politics and a consumerist society. He is, as the *TLS* pointed out, "a poet of his own discontents, but one who has submitted his unrest to the demands of the imagination". Crichton Smith's *Collected Poems*, a Poetry Book Society Special Commendation and winner of the Saltire Prize, are published by Carcanet at £9.95.



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international

Middle East conference: Peres condemns absent Arab nations as Clinton tells bombers their atrocities will achieve nothing

'Message of peace will prevail'

Defiant Iran stays away

PATRICK COCKBURN
Sharm el-Sheikh

Leaders of 29 countries met in the Egyptian resort of Sharm el-Sheikh yesterday in an effort to prevent the peace accord between Israel and the Palestinians unravelling and to discuss measures against suicide bombers and their supporters.

President Clinton said: "From all over the world we have come to Sinai to deliver one message: peace will prevail." Mr Clinton told a news conference after the four-hour meeting that this "amazing group of people" had provided "a historic showing of the strength of peace in the Middle East today".

The meeting "sent a message that Israel is not alone", said President Clinton. In practical terms the conference will help Shimon Peres, the Israeli Prime Minister, to survive politically and may ease the state of siege imposed by Israel on the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza.

But deep differences over the aims of the conference were evident as soon as it started. President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, who hosted the meeting, emphasised preserving the peace accords, saying: "The core of the Middle East problem is the Palestinians." Egypt is nervous of appearing to be at the beck and call of Washington and Tel Aviv.

Israel and the US wanted the conference to focus primarily on combating terrorism. There were promises of co-operation between security forces and a working group is to meet in 30 days to discuss the implementation of practical measures - such as the exchange of information between intelligence services. A senior US official said: "The Israeli and Palestinian authorities are now working together very closely to uproot terrorism. That is being done on a daily basis for the first time since the bombings."

Yasser Arafat, the chairman of the PLO, needs to see the state of siege of the 2.3 million Palestinians in the occupied territories lifted. But he also wants to resume the relationship



Partnership: (from left) Shimon Peres, Bill Clinton, Hosni Mubarak, Boris Yeltsin and Yasser Arafat at the summit Photograph: Gregg Newton / Reuters

he had with the Israeli government before the first bombs in the present campaign exploded on 25 February. "Labour are our partners in peace," said an official of Fatah, Mr Arafat's political movement. "The danger for him is that he will be seen by other Palestinians as a pawn of Israel and the US who can deliver nothing for his people."

Mr Peres went out of his way to denounce Iran, saying it had spearheaded attacks. He added: "Iran has become the capital of terror." Despite these accusations, a senior American

official admitted: "Maybe 50 per cent of Hamas funding comes from private sources in the Gulf."

Iran has denied involvement in the suicide bombing campaign. John Major, the Prime Minister, denounced "pariah states" and called for measures to prevent the organisers of attacks shifting from one state to another. Nobody showed interest in criticising Syria which, like Iran, refused to attend the meeting.

From early morning, world leaders and their entourage

poured into the Movenpick Hotel, on the beach in Sharm el-Sheikh, at the southern tip of the Sinai peninsula. King Hassan of Morocco, distrustful of local catering arrangements, was accompanied by a long line of retainers in white robes and red fezzes, bringing supplies of water, coffee, tea and food. By contrast John Bruton, the Irish Prime Minister, arrived with one aide, carrying his own suitcase and with his Egyptian security guards lagging behind.

The site of the conference in Sharm el-Sheikh, between the red mountains of Sinai and the sea, eased the problems of Egyptian security. Even so, policemen were stationed every 50 yards along the road from the airport. Tourists jolting on the beach looked bemused by the influx of soldiers and police, but pleased to be the centre of attention.

Will the conference achieve anything? President Clinton trumpeted what a success it had been "to get this amazing group of people together". Probably international endorsement will help Mr Peres calm Israeli

voters, but only if there are no more bombs. None the less, Palestinians will be pleased to hear Mr Clinton say that he expected Israel to ease its isolation of Gaza.

It is difficult to believe that elaborate plans to cut off funds going to Hamas will really prevent new suicide bombers setting off on their missions. And if they do the symbolic success of the conference, briefly reassuring for Israelis and Palestinians alike, will disappear in another explosion on the streets of Jerusalem or Tel Aviv.

ROBERT FISK
Tehran

Hours before the Israeli prime minister rose to denounce Tehran as the "capital of terror", I was walking down a rainy street in that same Iranian city with a man who once took up arms to fight Iranian opponents of the revolutionary regime.

"Peres will call Iran a terrorist state, Clinton will applaud him but the others won't join in," he said. "The Israelis don't know what to do when they can't use their tanks and planes." By midday yesterday, the first part of the man's prediction was proved correct.

Iran predictably called the Sharm el-Sheikh conference a "propaganda play by Israel and America to distract the world" - a view shared by several Arab regimes who are no friends of Iran - while the *Iran News* called for an "anti-terrorist" conference to be held in Tehran.

"The United States... alleged that the Islamic republic was behind a series of bomb blasts," its editorial declared. "The same America rolled out the red carpet for the reception of Gerry Adams, leader of the IRA which publicly claimed responsibility for the massacres of many innocent civilians."

In Tehran, the Russian ambassador, Sergei Tretyakov, confirmed that President Yeltsin had sent a letter to President Rafsanjani proposing "joint efforts in the fight against terrorism". Mr Tretyakov chose his words carefully. "When we talk about Iranian involvement in acts of political violence, we should say 'so-called' or 'alleged'," he said. "We discussed this in Moscow with the Americans. But still no one has provided evidence."

"When 'terrorist acts' were committed in Israel, the ambassador said, "Iran was immediately accused... When hostage-taking took place in Russia, no wide-scale campaign took place as it did for Israel." Mr Tretyakov's reference to

Chechnya might not go down too well in Iran where there are strong feelings about Moscow's suppression of what is seen as a Muslim war of liberation.

Yet Iran can hardly show the world a squeaky-clean record. At a press conference on Monday, Ayatollah Rafsanjani - as he now is - tried to avoid reference to an Iranian sentenced in a French court to 10 years jail for the murder of the former Iranian prime minister Shahpour Bakhtiar, in Paris.

Nor can Iran be surprised when the world does not know who to believe in Tehran. Immediately after the suicide bombings in Israel, for example, the Iranian news agency *Iran* said it was less than 48 hours later European diplomats were summoned to the foreign ministry to be told that the report did not represent the policy of the Rafsanjani government which condemned all acts of violence against civilians.

And if Iranian authorities abandoned their war against the regime's opponents three years ago, there are ominous signs that those who choose to call for a separation of clerical and governmental power cannot do so freely. One proponent of such a policy was lecturing at Tehran University's department of sociology last Saturday when a group of young radicals led by clerics closed down the class.

"You must understand that power remains fragmented here," a Tehran University politics student complained. "Rafsanjani is the president of Iran but he is also the president of only a powerful faction. Still, the radicals are losing and the clerics who used to demand war with Israel are isolated."

"It's confusing, but we find the West confusing too. A few years ago, Israel was calling Beirut the 'capital of world terror' because Arafat was there. Now Israel says Tehran is the capital of world terror - and Arafat is sitting next to the Israeli prime minister when he says it."

France shifts EU stance closer to UK

MARY DEJEVSKY
Paris

The French government, once Germany's closest ally on European integration, yesterday adopted a position that was much closer to Britain's than would have been imaginable until recently.

France set out its negotiating stance for this month's Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) on the future of Europe, arguing for a multi-speed Europe with France and Germany in the fast lane, but at the same time for a sharp diminution in the role of European institutions. It also advocated the appointment of a secretary-general - "a voice and face of Europe" - to represent the European Union internationally.

The formal statement, presented to the National Assembly by the European minister, Michel Barnier, placed France between the Euro-federalism favoured by Germany and the more Euro-sceptical line taken by the British government. It was accompanied, however, by a ringing endorsement from the French prime minister, Alain Juppé, of the principle of the nation-state that offered succour to Euro-sceptics.

Addressing a conference in Paris of the European Democratic Union, the grouping of right of centre parties from eastern and western Europe, Mr Juppé said: "For us Gaullists, the nation-state remains more than ever the place that is both essential and central for realising the democratic contract, between the citizens and those who represent them." While Mr Juppé, who heads the Gaullist RPR party, was clearly tailoring his words to his audience, such a statement so close to the IGC sets a certain tone for French policy under an unashamedly Gaullist president.

The formal statement evinced considerably less confidence about the outcome of the IGC than France has habitually mustered before big European con-

ferences. Mr Juppé said that expectations of the IGC in France tended to be either too fatalistic, or too ambitious. France, he said, wanted three things from the IGC: a "more prosperous Europe", a "more secure Europe" and a Europe "closer to the citizen".

The specifics of the statement show that France wants the IGC to be short and sharp, and it wants firm decisions on reforming institutions before negotiations begin on accepting new members. It does not want any discussion of the single currency, which it regards as an agreed policy for implementation in January 1999 deadline.

On the question of reforming EU institutions, France's position appears close to Britain's. It wants a downgrading of the Commission's role and a reduction in commissioners to about 12. It also wants a similar reduction in the role of the Parliament, which should "monitor" implementation of policy rather than make it.

France is also proposing the formation of a new body, a "higher parliamentary council", made up of deputies from national parliaments, that would review legislation to judge whether it conformed to the principle of "subsidiarity".

In its definition of a European secretary-general's role, it also appears now to agree with Britain that such a post should be accountable to and mandated by European heads of state and government.

Where France differs most from Britain is on the role of the West European Union - membership of which, the French say, should be "a condition of EU membership" and form the executive arm of a European defence policy. It may also be open to wider use of majority voting than Britain would accept.

The government's pre-IGC statement was accepted by the assembly. There is a broad, if somewhat hazy, consensus among France's main political parties and groupings about Europe. The only out and out Euro-sceptical positions are

Whitewater row refuses to go away

RUPERT CORNWELL
Washington

It is the controversy which will not die. A new book in the shops, a trial which opened in Little Rock this week, an ugly row which threatens to tie up business on the floor of the US Senate - one way and another, the Whitewater affair is set to hound President Clinton throughout his re-election campaign.

Four years have passed since the first mention in the national press of a failed property venture in northern Arkansas, in which the businessman Jim McDougal in 1978 offered a 50 per cent share to his friends Bill and Hillary Clinton, the probable next Governor of the state and

his ambitious lawyer wife. Today Whitewater is a term embracing not just that land deal, but an imbroglio of past personal and financial dealings of the 42nd President. Mr McDougal meanwhile, along with his wife Susan and Jim Guy Tucker - the man who took over as Arkansas's Governor when Mr Clinton moved on to the White House - is now defending himself against fraud and conspiracy charges in a federal court in Little Rock, the first trial arising from a special prosecutor's two-year investigation of the Whitewater affair.

The Clintons have been neither indicted nor charged with any offence, but even before opening arguments had ended on Tuesday, the President's name had been aired in the courtroom, in allegations by a prosecution lawyer that he improperly pressured a local banker in 1986 to make a \$300,000 (£200,000) loan to Ms McDougal. That money in turn disappeared into the Madison Guaranty savings bank, owned by her husband and which collapsed that year, at a cost to US taxpayers of \$60m.

The trial will last two months, and before it is over Mr Clinton will have suffered the almost unprecedented embarrassment of a sitting President testifying in a criminal case in which suspicious swirl around him. The ultimate indignity of a personal appearance in the court-

room is unlikely. But either in videotaped cross-examination, or via a live satellite link from Washington, the McDougal defence insists, Mr Clinton will give evidence.

"A bunch of bull," he has called suggestions of his involvement in the \$300,000 loan - but public interest in the case is unlikely to subside. Further Whitewater charges may well be brought by Kenneth Starr, while the author James Stewart, responsible for the best-selling *Den of Thieves*, may have another blockbuster on his hands.

According to *Blood Sport: The President and His Adversaries*, excerpts of which appear in the latest issue of *Time* magazine, the

Whitewater venture was conceived by Mr McDougal as a favour to the impetuous young couple. When it was clearly a money-loser, Mr McDougal tried to buy them out - only to be rebuffed by Mrs Clinton, hoping that it would provide enough income to pay for the university education of the couple's daughter, Chelsea.

As such the book provides more corroboration that as a partner in the Rose law firm working on Madison and other McDougal-related accounts, Mrs Clinton knew more about the bank and Whitewater, than she has admitted. That in turn will only keep Whitewater alive on Capitol Hill - through the summer and perhaps beyond.

Britain may hold back UN fees

DAVID USBORNE
New York

Exasperated by the failure of the US to clear its debt with the United Nations, some of its closest allies, including Britain, are thinking of hitting back by withholding some of their own UN contributions.

The countries contemplating rebellion are those who, as well as paying their regular UN fees, also take part in peace-keeping worldwide by providing troops and equipment. Because of its financial crisis, sparked by the US debt, the UN has been unable to reimburse states for peace-keeping costs.

The proposal now under consideration by some governments would be to deduct what each is owed for peace-keeping from their annual UN contributions. "We want to rattle the cage a little," one diplomat said yesterday. "We have to find some way of getting through this whole crisis."

Any such campaign would only deepen the problems faced by the UN secretary. "It is our understanding that it would be illegal," Sylvia Foa, the UN spokeswoman, said yesterday. "But what would we do about it - send out the cops? I don't think so." Washington, which currently owes the UN \$1.5bn, including this year's dues, would have no grounds to complain. The general humiliation of the US is being compounded,

flow of letters to the secretary from private US citizens voicing their own embarrassment at their government's delinquency and enclosing cheques for as little as \$4.

While the UN has refused to publish details of how much different countries are owed for peace-keeping - in spite of intense pressure from France, in particular, to do so - officials confirmed yesterday that Britain has been especially affected. The Exchequer may be owed as much as \$250m. That is roughly equivalent to Britain's entire contribution to the UN last year, both in regular fees and peace-keeping costs.

Among those who have raised the possibility of simply stopping payments into the UN's coffers until the peace-keeping account is cleared has been the Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind. He floated the notion while visiting the UN last year, but it was quashed by the British delegation here.

The case against such action has been that it would undermine the moral high ground from which other governments have been able to attack the US for reneging on its treaty obligations. European nations were especially affronted by proposals aired by Madeleine Albright two weeks ago under which the US would repay its UN debt over five years, but on several conditions, notably that America's share of the UN budget be cut from 25 to 20 per cent.



Victory: Senator Dole and his wife, Elizabeth, at a Washington rally Photograph: Luc Novovich

Dole clinches presidency bid

RUPERT CORNWELL
Washington

As Bob Dole effectively clinched the Republican Presidential nomination with a "Super Tuesday" sweep, Steve Forbes, one of his two remaining rivals, said that barring a win in one of next week's Midwestern primaries, he would pull out of the race.

Massive victories in Florida, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oregon, Tennessee and Oklahoma - extending his streak of primary wins to 20 - have left the Kansas senator with some 740 delegates, more than two-thirds of the 996 required to make his nomination a mathe-

matic certainty. So sure now is even the hyper-cautious Mr Dole of triumph that he cancelled a scheduled day of campaigning in the Midwest yesterday to attend to Senate business here. And it is in Washington that the struggle for the White House will be played out over the next few months, along the length of Pennsylvania Avenue, in an unprecedented legislative and negotiating minuet between a sitting Democratic President and the Republican Senate majority leader who will be his opponent in the forthcoming election.

In effect though, the primary season is over, the main unknown now is Mr Dole's choice of running mate. Despite renewed and febrile speculation, General Colin Powell is unlikely

of health care, and the balanced budget. After the ordeal of the campaign trail, Mr Dole will be back to what he enjoys most, the nuts and bolts of law-making of getting things done. On that ability, he will try to sell himself as America's 43rd President.

Dry and laconic even in his finest moment of the election season thus far, Mr Dole again urged Mr Forbes and the conservative commentator Pat Buchanan to drop out of the contest and close ranks for the battle against Bill Clinton.

GM faces shutdown as strike takes grip

DAVID USBORNE
New York

A week-old union stoppage at two brake-making plants in Dayton, Ohio, has paralysed General Motors, threatening profits and sending damaging ripple effects through the whole American economy.

The company, which has not faced so serious a labour crisis since its last big strike in 1970, had already shut 21 of its 29 factories in North America yesterday morning and is close to suspending all operations in the US, Canada and Mexico.

The dispute in Dayton - more recently associated with the Bosnia peace-making conference - centres on plans by GM to begin buying in some brake units from an outside supplier, Bosch of Germany. A local branch of the United Auto Workers union is demanding that the company scrap the plan and agree instead to increase employment at Dayton.

As of yesterday morning, more than 80,000 car workers were laid off. Meanwhile, Wall Street analysts were warning of damaging consequences for the automotive parts industry and also for the steel manufacturers that supply General Motors. Talks between the management and the union which only began on Tuesday night have so far offered little hope of a settlement. "There was no progress on substantive issues, but it was a hopeful sign for further talking," a GM spokesman said of the first negotiating round.

GM, the biggest of the world's car-makers, whose subsidiaries include Vauxhall, has returned to profit in recent years after a disastrous period in the late 1980s. The other two of America's "Big Three" manufacturers, Ford and Chrysler, have also been experiencing a resurgence in fortunes.

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